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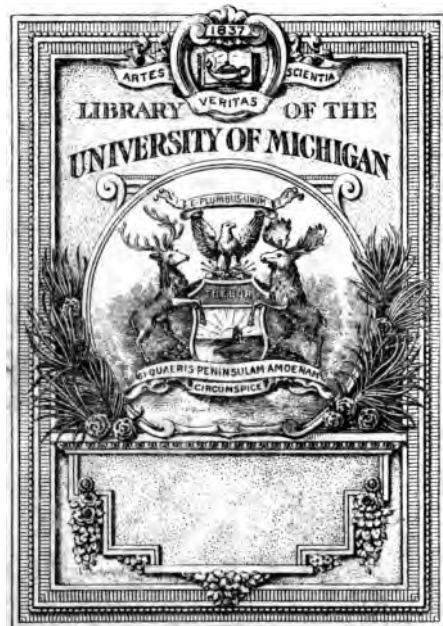
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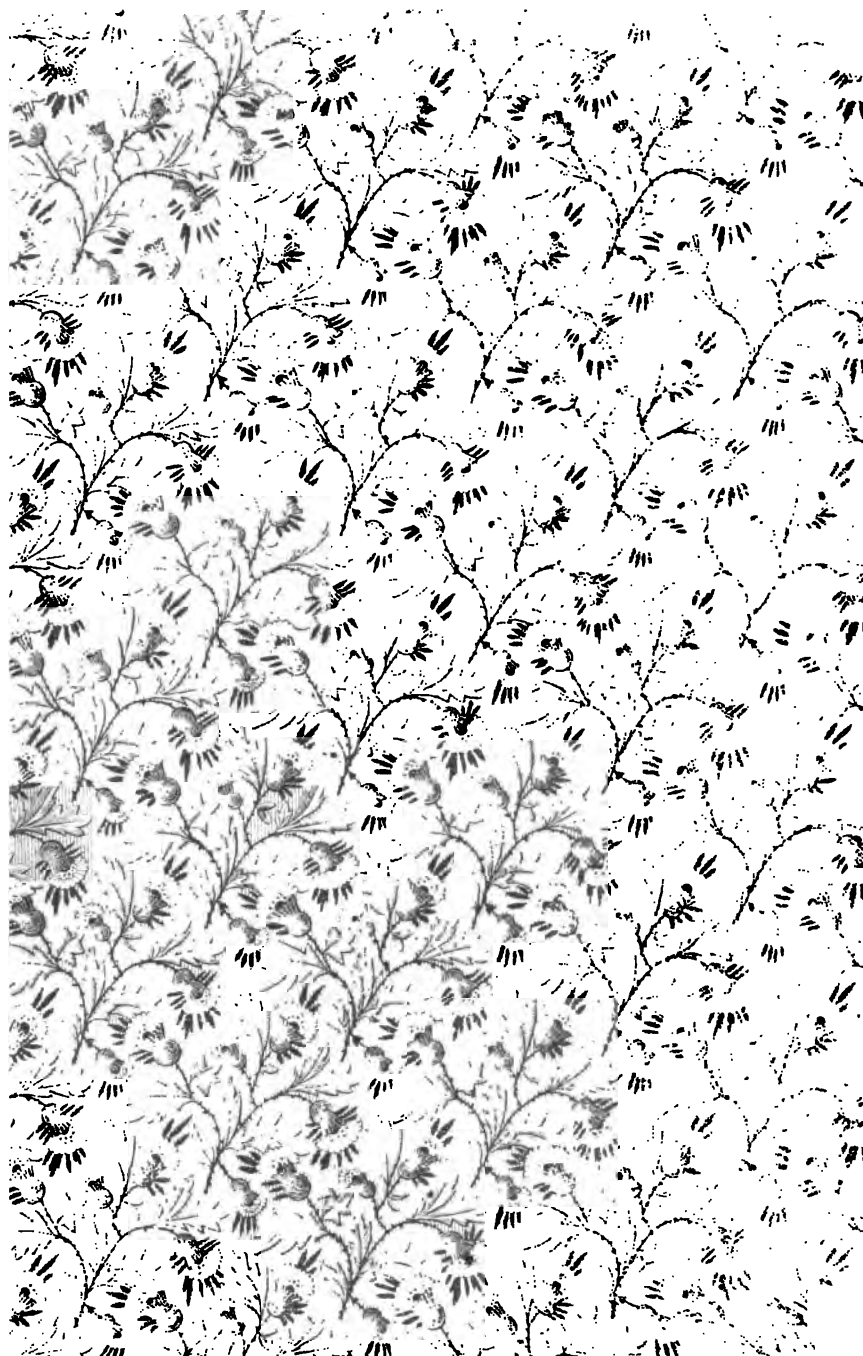
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***THE THREE REFORMS OF PARLIAMENT.***

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

THE THREE REFORMS  
OF PARLIAMENT

*A HISTORY*

1830—1885

BY

WILLIAM HEATON

EDITOR OF "CASSELL'S CONCISE CYCLOPEDIA," ETC.

"May the House of Commons flourish, but let the people be the sole author of its existence, as they should be the great object of its care; and however it may please the Almighty to dispose of princes or of parliaments, may the liberties of the people be immortal."—GRATTAN.

**London**

**T FISHER UNWIN**

**26 PATERNOSTER SQUARE**

**1885**



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## PREFACE.

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THIS volume has grown out of a lecture which I delivered last winter in several towns of the North of England. I soon found, as my reading on the subject advanced, that I had very much more to say than could be comprised within the limits of a single lecture ; and, besides, the subject itself so increased in interest to me, that I could not be satisfied till I had set down, in writing, not only what I had gathered from books, but also some of my own recollections and reflections. Thus, this history rather “grew” than “was made.” Under the circumstances, I dare not claim for it that it is exhaustive. It is, in fact, an extended lecture. But my aim in preparing it has been to trace the successive steps, and the struggles, by which the existing representation of the people in Parliament has been reached ; and likewise to show how each step in Parliamentary Reform has been followed by

economic and social reforms of scarcely less value. Of course, this latter part of my intention could be only partially accomplished by me or by any one at this time. I have recorded some of the results of the first two Reforms; the results of the third and the (so far) greatest Reform must be recorded hereafter by another hand. I envy him who will have to tell the tale. For, grand as is that chapter in our history which is looked at from a single point of view only in this volume, I believe that the next chapter will be infinitely grander; and I am confident that it will both illustrate and confirm those Liberal principles of legislation—I would rather say, those *Radical* principles—to which I have been attached from my youth up, and which I cherish in ever increasing affection with advancing years.

W. H.

*Sholebroke Avenue,*  
LEEDS, Oct. 15th, 1885.

# CONTENTS.

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	PAGE
I. INTRODUCTORY . . . . .	1
II. THE FIRST REFORM ACT . . . . .	26
III. RESULTS OF THE FIRST REFORM ACT IN GENERAL	
LEGISLATION . . . . .	114
IV. THE SECOND REFORM ACT . . . . .	182
V. RESULTS OF THE SECOND REFORM ACT IN	
GENERAL LEGISLATION . . . . .	207
VI. THE THIRD REFORM . . . . .	220
APPENDIX . . . . .	257



## I.

### INTRODUCTORY.

It is difficult to believe that the system of Parliamentary Representation in England was what it was actually during the fifty or sixty years before this history opens. It is needless to say that the period was an eventful one. It included the term of the American war, and of the war with Bonaparte. It witnessed the close of the career of the great Earl of Chatham, and embraced the entire career of his still more distinguished son. The long reign of George III. culminated and closed during this period. It was the period during which the minds of men were first elevated, and afterwards depressed, by the promise, and subsequently the apparent failure, of the Revolution in France.

At that time there was a representative system of government in England. It had been won by the heroism and self-sacrifice of men in whom patriotism was a passion, and who had handed

CHAP. I.

Representation before Reform.



## CHAP. I.

it down to their successors as a gift doubly sacred because it bore on it the marks of both their tears and their blood. But freedom is one of those priceless possessions which are secure only when sedulously preserved. The name of those who would filch it away is Legion. At the end of the last, and the beginning of the present century, popular representation was nothing more than a pretence.

Let us try to understand some of the conditions under which the House of Commons exercised its functions during this period, and also how its powers were derived. This is a necessary introduction to that History of Reform to which the present volume is devoted.

Number of  
Members.

Of Voters.

/ Down to the year 1800, when the Union between Great Britain and Ireland was effected, the House consisted of 558 members; after 1800, it consisted of 658 members. In the earlier days of George III., it was elected by 160,000 voters, out of a population of a little more than eight millions; in the later days of that monarch, it was elected by about 440,000 voters, out of a population of twenty-two millions. Thus, the proportion of voters to the population was one to every fifty persons: it is now one to every seven persons; and, if the principle of manhood suffrage were adopted, it would be one to every five.

But the inadequacy of the representation will be even more striking if we consider the manner in which the electors were broken up into constituencies. The constituencies consisted either of counties, or of cities or boroughs. Generally speaking, the counties of England and Wales (and of Ireland, after the Union) were represented by two members,\* and the counties of Scotland by one member ; and the voters were the forty-shilling freeholders. The number of cities and boroughs which returned members varied ; but, from the date of the Union, there were about 217 in England and Wales, 14 in Scotland, and 89 in Ireland,—all the English and Welsh boroughs (with a few exceptions) returning two members, and the Scotch and Irish boroughs one member. How the particular places came to be Parliamentary boroughs is a question of much historic interest, which cannot be dealt with here in detail. Originally, the places to which writs were issued seem to have been chosen by the Crown, or, not unfrequently, by the Sheriffs of the counties. Probably, in the first instance, the more important places were

CHAP. I.

The Constituencies.

How formed.

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\* The county of York, after 1826, returned four members, the two additional members having been transferred in 1821 from the disfranchised borough of Gram-pound, in Cornwall. The county of York.

## CHAP. I.

- selected; though other considerations, such as the political opinions of the owners of the soil, and the desire to recognise services (often of a very questionable character) rendered by such owners to the King, no doubt had their weight.
- Cromwell.** In the time of Cromwell, some important changes were made. In 1654, he disfranchised many small boroughs, increased the number of county members, and enfranchised Manchester, Leeds, and Halifax. All these reforms were cancelled after the Restoration; and from that time very few changes were made. If any change had been attempted by the Crown, it would have been held to be an invasion of the prerogative of Parliament; if any had been attempted by Parliament, it would have been held to be an invasion of the prerogative of the Crown. But, in fact, there was little desire for change. The system worked quite satisfactorily, to those whose privilege it was to work it.
- Changes in the country.** In the hundred and fifty years which followed the Restoration, however, there were changes in the condition of the country, altogether beyond the control of either kings or parliaments. Old towns disappeared or decayed, and new ones sprang up. Manchester, Birmingham, and Leeds were remarkable examples of the latter,—Old Sarum was an example of the former. Perhaps,
- Old Sarum.**

however, Old Sarum ought hardly to be chosen as an example, for it had disappeared long before the hundred and fifty years above referred to began. At one time a place of some importance, it declined from the springing up of New Sarum (Salisbury); and, even so far back as the reign of Henry VII., it existed as a town only in imagination, and in the roll of the Parliamentary boroughs. But if Old Sarum cannot be cited as an example of places which had decayed since the Restoration, it was all the more an illustration, on that very account, of the hollowness and unreality of the existing system; and many other places might be named—such as Gatton in Surrey, and Ludgershall in Wiltshire—which represented only their owners. In fact, the representation of owners, and of owners only, was a very prominent feature of the electoral system now under consideration. Thus, the Duke of Norfolk was represented by eleven members, who sat for places forming a part of his estates; similarly, Lord Lonsdale was represented by nine members, Lord Darlington by seven, the Duke of Rutland and several other peers by six each; and it is stated by one authority that the Duke of Newcastle, at one time, returned one third of all the members for the boroughs, while, up to 1780, the members for the county of York—the

CHAP. I.  
—Representa-  
tion of  
owners.

CHAP. I.  
—

largest and most influential of the counties—were always elected in Lord Rockingham's dining-room.

Society of the  
Friends of the  
People.

/ But these are only selected instances. Many others might be cited. According to a statement made by the Duke of Richmond in 1780, six thousand persons returned a clear majority of the House of Commons. In 1793, the Society of the Friends of the People asserted, and declared that they were able to prove, that eighty-four individuals returned one hundred and fifty-seven members; that seventy individuals returned one hundred and fifty members; and that of the one hundred and fifty-four individuals who thus returned three hundred and seven members—the majority of the House before the Union with Ireland—no fewer than forty were peers. The same Society asserted in the same year, and declared that they were able to prove, that seventy members were returned by thirty-five places, in which there were scarcely any electors; that ninety members were returned by forty-six places, in which there were fewer than fifty electors; that thirty-seven members were returned by nineteen places, with not more than one hundred electors; and that fifty-two members were returned by twenty-six places, with not more than two hundred electors: all these in England alone.

Even in the towns which had a real claim to representation, the franchise rested upon no uniform basis. On the contrary, the variety of qualifications for voting was a puzzle to every one, and its origin could be ascertained only by tracing the local history of the several cities and boroughs through four or more centuries. In many boroughs the corporation elected the members, the corporation being self-elected. In other boroughs the franchise was exercised solely by the freemen; in others by the burgage-holders; in others by the scot and lot voters; in others by the potwallers, or potwallopers; \* and in others these different rights, or some of them, were combined. Thus in some cases the suffrage was practically household suffrage; in

CHAP. I.

No uniform Franchise.

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\* The *freemen* were those who, under the terms of the charter of incorporation, had been admitted to the full rights of citizenship; their rights were transmitted to their sons, and (in the case of traders) to their apprentices. The *burgage-holders* (from the Saxon *burg*, a town) were persons who held lands or tenements under some lord, at a fixed rent, and subject to certain customs. The *scot and lot voters* (from the Saxon *sceat*, a tax) were those who paid the rates and taxes "allotted" to them. The *potwallers*, or *potwallopers* (from the English *pot*, and the Saxon *wealan*, to boil), were persons who possessed a chimney beneath which they "boiled a pot." In practice these last included all male occupiers who had resided in the borough for a period of six months.

Various Franchises.

CHAP. I.  
—

other cases the suffrage was extremely restricted. But they all returned their two members equally; it made no difference whether the voters numbered three thousand or only three or four.

## Bribery.

Purchase of  
Seats.

Such being the state of the representation, corruption was inevitable. Bribery was practised to an inconceivable extent. Many of the smaller boroughs had a fixed price, and it was by no means uncommon to see a borough advertised for sale in the newspapers. Indeed, it was often the cheapest way to get into Parliament to pay the price and have done with it. The cost of a contest was frequently enormous. In those places where the freemen held the suffrage, they could exercise it whether resident or not. In case of a contest, therefore, they had to be brought, at the expense of the candidate whom they supported, sometimes from very remote parts of the country, and sometimes even from abroad. It was no light thing, consequently, to contest such places as Preston, Ipswich, Yarmouth, or Norwich, where the non-resident freemen were numerous. An election for Northampton, in 1768, is stated to have cost the candidates "at least £30,000 a side."

But the cost of elections was due, not only to

bribery, but (in the case of the counties) to the distance of the electors from the polling-place, and to the length of time during which the polling might be prolonged. In each county there was only one polling-place. Accordingly, in some of the larger counties, an elector might have to travel forty or fifty miles in order to record his vote, and he could claim to have his expenses paid. As to the time which a poll might occupy, the law was that it was to remain open till every voter had polled, or till an hour had passed without any vote having been recorded. A poll has been known to remain open for forty days. In 1784, the time was limited to fifteen days. But, whether for forty or for fifteen days, the public-houses were thrown open all the time—of course, at the expense of the candidates; and not only waste, but disorder and riot were the result. As an example of cost in contesting a county election, it is on record that the joint expenses of Lord Milton and Mr. Lascelles, in contesting the county of York in 1807, were £200,000.

CHAP. I.  
—Only one  
Polling-place.Time occupied  
by Poll.

All that has been said hitherto refers only to England. It is undesirable to extend this chapter by saying anything about Scotland and Ireland, where matters were, if possible, even worse. It is only necessary to add that, while



## CHAP. I.

Manchester,  
Birmingham,  
etc.

Early efforts  
for Reform.

Rutland, as a county, returned as many representatives as Yorkshire—and while thirteen voters in one borough, eleven in another, and seven in another, severally returned two members—Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, and a number of other populous places, were without any representation at all.

It is not to be supposed that a condition of things which appears to us so intolerable attracted no attention before what may be called the Reform era. So far back as 1745, Sir Francis Dashwood (afterwards Lord de Spencer) moved an amendment to the Address in favour of Reform; Lord Chatham himself, in 1766 and 1770, spoke of the borough representation as “the rotten part of the constitution,” and likened it to a “mortified limb;” the Duke of Richmond of that day, in 1780, introduced a bill into the House of Lords which would have given manhood suffrage and annual parliaments; and three times in succession, in 1782, 1783, and 1785, Mr. Pitt proposed resolutions in favour of Reform (the last time from his place as First Lord of the Treasury and Prime Minister)\*, but only to find on each occasion

Mr. Pitt's proposal in 1785.

\* At this time Mr. Pitt proposed to disfranchise thirty-six rotten boroughs (returning seventy-two members), to compensate their owners at a cost to the nation of one

that the opposing interests were too powerful for even him to contend against. After Mr. Pitt had abandoned the cause, Mr. (afterwards Earl) Grey took up the subject. First, in 1792, he presented that famous petition from the Society of the Friends of the People \* to which allusion has been already made, and founded a resolution upon it. He made further efforts in 1793, 1795, and 1797, but was on every occasion defeated by large majorities. It was not a time to talk about Reform, when the Revolution in France was turning Liberals into Tories, and making even the boldest Reformers tremble with fear.

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million sterling, and to give the members to the counties and to the metropolis. The motion was defeated by a majority of seventy-four (248 to 174).

\* The Society of the Friends of the People was founded in April, 1792, and had its place of meeting in the Freemasons' Tavern. Among its members were Mr. Grey, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Lambton (afterwards Earl of Durham), Mr. (afterwards Sir James) Mackintosh, Mr. (afterwards Lord) Erskine, and several other members of Parliament. Mr. Fox declined to be enrolled on the list of members, not because he was unfriendly to the cause, but because, as he said, "Though I perceive great and enormous grievances, I do not see the remedy." The petition above referred to was signed by Charles Grey, M.P., and by about one hundred and fifty other persons, of whom upwards of twenty were members of Parliament. The petition is given at length in Molesworth's 'History of the Reform Bill of 1832.'

Society of the  
Friends of the  
People.

## CHAP. I.

Early  
Reformers.

So ended the history of Reform in the eighteenth century. But any reference to that history (however brief and fragmentary) would be grievously incomplete, if no mention whatever were made of the names of John Wilkes, Major John Cartwright,\* and Henry Flood, all of whom deserve gratitude as pioneers in a cause that then appeared hopeless. They were regarded as Revolutionists in their own day; they would be called simply Radicals in ours. They did not occupy the high places in the field, and their names, and certainly their deeds, are well-nigh forgotten. But, when the debt of the nations is paid, the world will discover how much it owes to the men whom it had forgotten!

War.

From the beginning of the nineteenth century to the year 1815—with the exception of a few months after the Peace of Amiens in 1802—England was at war. During that time Reform dropped out of notice. It is true that Sir Francis Burdett proposed a resolution on the subject in the House of Commons in 1809, and Mr. Brand in 1810 and 1812. Scarcely any attention was given to them, however; and,

“One Man,  
one Vote.”

\* Major Cartwright was the author of the phrase, “One man, one vote”—an idea which has been revived in our time, and to some extent realised.

except to the minds of a few studious and far-seeing men, such as Horne Tooke and Jeremy Bentham,\* Reform seemed almost as hopeless as in the days of George II. himself. After the Peace, the agitation was revived, not at first in Parliament, but among the people. Peace did not bring prosperity. On the contrary, when the enthusiasm over the Battle of Waterloo had subsided, and when Napoleon was safely lodged in the Island of St. Helena, the burdens that rested upon the national shoulders seemed to be heavier than ever; and they were rendered all the more intolerable by cruel and selfish legislation, which it took more than thirty years to repeal. Lord Castlereagh was the leading Minister at that time, though Lord Liverpool held the position nominally. Few statesmen have been more hated than Lord Castlereagh, and few hated more deservedly. When (as Marquis of Londonderry) he was carried to his grave in Westminster Abbey, five or six years afterwards, the exultant shouts of the multitude, who looked upon him as their most powerful and most persistent enemy, were

CHAP. I.

Peace.

Lord Castlereagh (afterwards Marquis of Londonderry).

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\* Early in the century, Jeremy Bentham formulated a scheme of Reform, which included universal suffrage, vote by ballot, and annual parliaments. He seems to have been the first to include women in the term "universal."

Jeremy Bentham.

## CHAP. I.

William  
Cobbett.

echoed in the hearts of Englishmen all over the land.

But there was one man who was more powerful than even Lord Castlereagh, and that was William Cobbett. It is hardly possible now to understand the influence which Cobbett wielded, by his pen alone. It was unique. In every public-house—almost in every cottage—in the manufacturing districts, his “Political Register” was eagerly read. It found its way into even the agricultural districts, and its bold declarations against tyranny and oppression aroused emotions and awakened hopes which were altogether new to the bucolic breast. That Cobbett did very much to hasten Reform, no student of the history of the period can doubt. He taught the people their power. He was practically the originator of those political clubs—“Hampden Clubs” they were called in his time—which were afterwards to exert such tremendous influence. He was as wary as he was bold and uncompromising. Against such a man Viscount Castlereagh, notwithstanding all the bayonets at his command, waged a very unequal war.

The bayonets.

But the bayonets did their work well for a time, and they were employed not at all reluctantly. No doubt, to a certain extent, the use of force was justified. In every agitation there

are men certain to run riot; and it is not always easy even for persons lawfully disposed to distinguish the somewhat ill-defined boundary line between lawful agitation and sedition. Besides, it is only fair to Lord Liverpool's Government to acknowledge, that there *were* movements, at this wretched period of our history, which it would have been the duty of any Government sternly to repress. The proceedings of the Luddites furnish one example; those of the rioters in Derbyshire, in 1817, another. But, for the most part, these "agitators" were poor, suffering people, who would have been quiet enough if they had only been listened to. Of these, the Blanketeers were an example. In the year just referred to, there was a meeting at Manchester, summoned for the purpose of appointing delegates to London who should lay the grievances of the people before the Prince Regent. Alas! they did not know the Prince Regent. But they did not get the opportunity of knowing him. The meeting at Manchester was dispersed by the military, a number of the leaders being carried off to gaol;\* and, though

CHAP. I.

The  
Blanketeers.

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\* It is a proof of the altogether innocent character of the Blanket expedition, that all those who had been apprehended were afterwards discharged without being even put upon their trial.

## CHAP. I.

some three hundred of those who had assembled set out afterwards for the metropolis, carrying blankets and rugs on their shoulders for bedding in the open air, they were followed by a body of yeomanry, several of them were wounded, one was killed, and few of them got farther than Macclesfield, the majority not farther than Stockport.

Sir Francis  
Burdett.

This, however, was a small matter, compared with what happened two years later. In 1817, and again in 1818 and 1819, Sir Francis Burdett, who was at that time member for Westminster and a leading Reformer, brought the question of Reform before the House of Commons. On each occasion he was defeated by a tremendous majority; and on the second occasion, when he submitted a resolution in favour of universal suffrage, equal electoral districts, vote by ballot, and annual parliaments, he did not secure even a single vote. Then the evident hopelessness of any appeal to the Legislature as at that time constituted induced the Reformers to adopt a singular proceeding, which was suggested by Major Cartwright. He advised the people to "send a petition in form of a living man, instead of one on parchment or paper;" and this led to meetings being held in various unrepresented towns, for the purpose of nominating "legisla-

"Legislatorial  
Attorneys."

torial attorneys," who should plead their cause before Parliament, and, in fact, claim a seat in Parliament, on the ground that they had been actually, if not legally, elected. One such meeting was held at Birmingham, where, in July, 1819, Major Cartwright himself and Sir Charles Wolseley, a Staffordshire baronet, were elected "legislatorial attorneys;"\* and another similar meeting was held at Leeds, which, however, came to nothing. At Manchester the idea was received with great favour, and a meeting for the same purpose as that at Birmingham was arranged for the ninth of August; but the proceedings at Birmingham having in the meantime been declared by the authorities to have been illegal, the meeting to elect a "legislatorial attorney" was abandoned, and another meeting was fixed for the sixteenth of the month, simply "to petition for Reform."

CHAP. I.

This meeting was to have been held in St. Peterloo.

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\* More than a year afterwards, some of the persons concerned in this "election" were prosecuted and convicted. Major Cartwright escaped, not having accepted the position of "attorney," to which he was elected in his absence; but Sir Charles Wolseley was sentenced to imprisonment for eighteen months, and at the end of that time to find sureties to be of good behaviour for five years,



CHAP. I.

"Orator"  
Hunt.

Peter's Field, or Peterloo, as it was also called ; \* and it was to have been presided over by Mr. (usually called "Orator") Hunt. Mr. Hunt was a gentleman of considerable property in Somersetshire, and was a liveryman of the City of London. Years before, when the country was thought to be in danger of invasion, he had offered his whole property (valued at £20,000) for the use of the Government, and had also proffered his personal services as a volunteer. Since then he had become an ardent Radical. He is thus described by one who knew him :— "He was gentlemanly in his manner and attire, six feet and better in height, and extremely well formed. He wore his own hair. His features were regular, and there was a kind of youthful blandness about them, which, in amicable discussion, gave his face a most agreeable expression. His eyes were blue, or light grey—not very clear nor quick, but rather heavy, except when he was excited in speaking, at which times they seemed to distend and protrude, and, if he worked himself furious, as he sometimes would, they became blood-streaked, and almost started from their sockets. Then it was that

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\* St. Peter's Field was a large open space, near St. Peter's Church, then on the outskirts of Manchester. A portion of the site is now occupied by the Free Trade Hall.

the expression of his lips was to be observed—the kind smile was exchanged for the curl of scorn, or the curse of indignation. Then his voice was bellowing, his face swollen and flushed, his griped hand beat as if it were to pulverise, and his whole manner gave token of a painful energy, struggling for utterance.” \*

CHAP. I.

Such was the man who, now that Cobbett was in America, was the leader of the Radical party in the North of England. With all his ardour, he was always opposed to violence. On this occasion, he had given special instructions that order was to be preserved; that if the constables interfered, no resistance was to be offered; that not even walking-sticks were to be carried. The presence of women was encouraged. The people came in thousands from every suburb of Manchester, and from every village within marching distance. “At the head of our procession,” says Bamford, “were a hundred or two of women, mostly young wives, and mine own was amongst them. A hundred or two of our handsomest girls—sweethearts to the lads who were with us—danced to the music, or sung snatches of popular songs.” The bands played,

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\* “Passages from the Life of a Radical,” by Samuel Bamford, p. 16.

## CHAP. I.

and the banners waved, and the sun shone brightly upon the gathering multitude.

No more graphic account of what followed can be given, than that furnished by the writer just quoted.

## The Massacre.

“In about half-an-hour after our arrival at the meeting,” he says, “the sounds of music and reiterated shouts proclaimed the near approach of Mr. Hunt and his party; and in a minute or two they were seen coming from towards Deansgate, preceded by a band of music and several flags. On the driving-seat of a barouche sat a neatly-dressed female, supporting a small flag. Their approach was hailed by one universal shout from probably eighty thousand persons. Mr. Hunt mounted the hustings, the music ceased, and then Mr. Hunt, stepping toward the front of the stage, took off his white hat, and addressed the people.

“Whilst he was doing so, I proposed to an acquaintance that we should retire awhile and get some refreshment, of which I stood in much need. We had got to nearly the outside of the crowd, when a noise and strange murmur arose towards the church. I stood on tip-toe, and looked in the direction whence the noise proceeded, and saw a party of cavalry in blue and white uniform come trotting sword in hand

round the corner of a garden wall, and to the front of a row of new houses, where they reined up in a line.

CHAP. I.

“ ‘The soldiers are here,’ I said; ‘we must go back and see what this means.’ ‘Oh,’ some one made reply, ‘they are only come to be ready if there should be any disturbance in the meeting.’ ‘Well, let us go back,’ I said, and we forced our way towards the colours.

“On the cavalry drawing up, they were received with a shout, of good-will as I understood it. They shouted again, waving their sabres over their heads; and then, slackening rein, and striking spur into their steeds, they dashed forwards, and began cutting the people.

“ ‘Stand fast,’ I said, ‘they are riding upon us, stand fast.’ And there was a general cry in our quarter of ‘stand fast.’ The cavalry were in confusion; they evidently could not, with all the weight of man and horse, penetrate that compact mass of human beings; and their sabres were plied to hew a way through naked held-up hands, and defenceless heads; and then chopped limbs and wound-gaping skulls were seen; and groans and cries were mingled with the din of that horrid confusion. ‘Ah, ah!’ ‘For shame, for shame!’ was shouted. Then, ‘Break, break! they are killing them in front,

CHAP. I.  
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and they cannot get away!’ and there was a general cry of ‘Break, break!’ For a moment the crowd held back as in a pause; then was a rush, heavy and resistless as a headlong sea; and a sound like low thunder, with screams, prayers, and imprecations from the crowd-moiled, and sabre-doomed, who could not escape.

“By this time Hunt and his companions had disappeared from the hustings; and some of the yeomanry, perhaps less sanguinely disposed than others, were busied in cutting down the flag-staves, and demolishing the flags.

“On the breaking of the crowd, the yeomanry wheeled, and, dashing wherever there was an opening, they followed, pressing and wounding. Many females appeared as the crowd opened, and striplings or mere youths also were found. Their cries were piteous and heartrending, and would, one might have supposed, have disarmed any human resentment; but here their appeals were vain. Women, white-vested maids, and tender youths, were indiscriminately sabred or trampled; and we have reason for believing that few were the instances in which that forbearance was vouchsafed, which they so earnestly implored.

“In ten minutes from the commencement of the havoc, the field was an open and almost

deserted space. The sun looked down through a sultry and motionless air. Over the whole field were strewed caps, bonnets, hats, shawls, shoes, and other parts of male and female dress, trampled, torn, and bloody. The yeomanry had dismounted. Some were easing their horses' girths, others adjusting their accoutrements, and some were wiping their sabres. Several mounds of human beings still remained where they had fallen, crushed down and smothered. Some of these were still groaning; others, with staring eyes, were gasping for breath; and others would never breathe more. All was silent save those low sounds, and the occasional snorting and pawing of steeds. Persons might sometimes be noticed peeping from attics and over the tall ridgings of houses; but they quickly withdrew, as if fearful of being observed, or unable to sustain the full gaze of a scene so hideous and abhorrent." \*

Such is the history of the "Peterloo massacre," which for years and years dwelt in the memory of the people of Lancashire, and drew down upon the Administration curses and execrations from lips not used to either. In this place, the subject may be dismissed in a few more lines.

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\* Bamford, pp. 205—208.

## CHAP. I.

The killed and  
wounded.

The Prince  
Regent.

Earl  
Fitzwilliam.

Sir Francis  
Burdett.

The Duke of  
Norfolk.

According to contemporary accounts, eleven men, women, and children were killed in the massacre, and between five and six hundred were wounded. Mr. Hunt was at once apprehended on a charge of high treason, but, as that accusation could not be sustained, the charge was varied to one of conspiracy; and, being convicted on this charge, he was sentenced to two and a-half years' imprisonment, and to find sureties for five years. Bamford and several others were also put upon their trial, and were ordered to be imprisoned for one year. The Prince Regent lost no time in conveying to the magistrates and the military his "approbation and high commendation" of their conduct; and the Earl Fitzwilliam of that day was dismissed from his post of Lord Lieutenant of the West Riding for attending a meeting (called by the High Sheriff on requisition) to petition for inquiry.\* A short time afterwards, Sir Francis Burdett was sentenced to three months' imprisonment, and fined two thousand pounds, for a letter which he addressed to his constituents at Westminster on the subject; and then, the

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\* Twenty years before, the Duke of Norfolk had been dismissed from the same post, for giving, at a Whig Club in London, the toast, "The Majesty of the People." Earl Fitzwilliam was the Duke of Norfolk's successor.

famous Six Acts (usually called the "Gagging Acts"), which took away from the people all that remained to them of political liberty, having been passed, Ministers no doubt thought that they had made everything secure, and that the odious subject of Reform would be no more heard of.

CHAP. I.  
—  
The Six Acts.

It is not necessary to prolong this introductory chapter. The next ten years were comparatively uneventful, so far as the subject of this history is concerned. It is only important to add that, in the very year of the Peterloo massacre, when the triumph of a repressive Administration seemed to be complete, Lord John Russell appeared upon the scene, and entered upon that advocacy of Reform which terminated only with his political life. For a long time he laboured in vain, cheered only at length by the passing of another great measure, with which Parliamentary Reform was very closely identified—the Emancipation of the Catholics. But, after that crowning victory to the cause of ecclesiastical liberty had been secured, the triumph of the cause of political liberty could hardly be far off.

Lord John  
Russell.



## II.

### *THE FIRST REFORM ACT.*

CHAP. II.  
1830.

The year 1830  
favourable to  
Reform.

Two events made the year 1830 particularly opportune for raising the question of Parliamentary Reform. The first of these events was the death of George IV.,—the second, the deposition of Charles X. of France. Perhaps, however, it is hardly fair to place these two names, even for the purpose of the present history, in such close juxtaposition. The only faults of Charles, so far as we are aware, grew out of the fact that he was a Bourbon. He was sincerely pious, according to his ideas of piety; he practised, at any rate in his later years, all the domestic virtues; he was amiable in disposition, courteous in manner, remarkably constant in both private and public friendship; and when, after his accession, he declared to the assembled peers and deputies that he would “employ to the utmost the power that had been placed in his hands to consolidate,

for the happiness of his people, the institutions which he had promised to maintain," it seemed to be even possible—and this was a great deal to say—that he might turn out to be liberal in his policy, and just in his general administration. True, as has been already said, he was a Bourbon. He had been but a short time upon the throne before he proved that he could be as blind as any of his predecessors. His piety took the form of superstition; and, if he could be liberal as a man, this did not preclude his being absolute as a monarch. But, whatever his faults, he ought not to be compared, even for a moment, with George IV. The mention of the name of Charles in the same breath as that of George is enough to make the former turn even yet in his grave. The grouping of the two names together in history is justifiable only on the ground that the deposition of Charles and the death of George contributed to results which they would both have alike deprecated, and which the continuance in power of either of them might have rendered for the time impossible.

The Revolution in France—which was the direct result of an attempt on the part of the Government of Charles X. to repress the exercise by his people of their right to a proper

CHAP. II.

1830.

The Revolution in France.

CHAP. II.  
1830.

and adequate representation—culminated in his flight to England, and in his retirement after a few weeks to Scotland. There, in the old palace of Holyrood, which was familiar to him through his having occupied it twenty years before, he was the witness of a conflict in the home of his exile which his own fall from power had done much to hasten.\* For the deposition of Charles—followed as it was very soon by a successful insurrection in Belgium—produced an immense impression upon the Liberals of this country, and upon the people generally. In a few days or weeks there had been secured in two continental countries what the people of England had been asking for in vain for years. Why should the Duke of Wellington be more successful than the Prince de Polignac in resisting the well-founded demands of the masses of the community? Why should he be stronger than William I. and the Prince of Orange? It was little less than an insult to suppose that the free people of England—for so even then

Charles X.

\* Charles remained at Holyrood for about four years. At the end of that time he was obliged to leave the country, in consequence of a representation on the part of the Government of Louis Philippe that his continued residence in Great Britain was objectionable to that Government. He retired to Bohemia, and afterwards to Göriz, in Styria, where he died in 1836.

they were accustomed to call themselves—would submit to a tyranny from which the less enlightened French and Belgians had freed themselves almost at a stroke.

CHAP. II.

1830.

It was, perhaps, fortunate for the House of Hanover that the fall of the last of the Bourbons had been preceded by the death of the last of the Georges. Charles set out for England on the third of August; George, after a lingering illness, had died at Windsor Castle in the morning of the twenty-sixth of June. It is not necessary here to say more about George. He had reigned for close upon twenty years—first for nearly ten years as Regent, and then for rather more than ten years as King. In his earlier days he had professed himself a Whig, chiefly because his boon companions were Whigs. When he became Regent he detached himself gradually from the Whig party, and, during the later years of his life, he manifested a deep-rooted aversion to both their principles and their persons. For the rest,—the story of his life, is it not written in the book of the chronicles of William Makepeace Thackeray? His death, occurring just when it did, in all probability saved the monarchy.

The death of  
George IV.

Though we have declined to discuss the character of George IV. at length, it is neces-

William IV.

## CHAP. II.

1830.

sary to say something of the feelings with which his death, and the accession of his brother William, were regarded. "Nobody," says Charles Greville, writing three weeks after the death of George, "nobody thinks any more of the late King than if he had been dead fifty years. Certainly, nobody was ever less regretted; and the breath was hardly out of his body before the press burst forth in full cry against him, and raked up all his vices, follies, and misdeeds, which were numerous and glaring enough." "The new King," he adds, "began well enough. There never was anything like the enthusiasm with which he was greeted by all ranks. Though he has trotted about both town and country for sixty-four years, and nobody ever turned round to look at him, he cannot now stir without a mob, patrician as well as plebeian, at his heels." \*

The new King  
supposed to be  
favourable to  
Reform.

The explanation of this enthusiasm, so far as the "plebeian" part of the mob is concerned, is that William was expected to favour the popular cause, if for no other reason than that his brother had hated it. He had been a sailor almost from his boyhood. He was a plain, bluff man, with curious ways of his own, and

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\* "The Greville Memoirs," vol. ii., pp. 1-4.

by no means particular as to his talk, in whatever society. "When they gave him the pen to sign the declaration before the Council," writes Greville, "he said, in his usual tone, 'This is a damned bad pen you have given me.' Altogether, he seems a kind-hearted, well-meaning, not stupid, burlesque, bustling old fellow, and, if he doesn't go mad, may make a very decent King, but he exhibits oddities." Nevertheless, the Duke of Wellington was "delighted with him." The people generally, as has been said, expected him to side with the Reformers, and they were enthusiastic accordingly. Of course, it turned out afterwards that they had been mistaken. It is always a mistake to expect persons and classes who are concerned in the maintenance of class-interests, to connive at the destruction of those interests. They may yield, as William IV. did, but they will yield reluctantly. If they dared, they would fight to the last.

We must not omit to notice one other circumstance that favoured the cause of Reform. This was the popular distress. Distress always favours agitation. The distress in 1830 was described in the House of Lords at the time as "unparalleled in any previous part of our history." Probably this was an exaggeration.

CHAP. II.

1830.

The general distress also on the side of the Reformers.

CHAP. II.

1830.

But there can be no doubt that the distress was general, and that it was acute. We shall hear more about it presently. It is enough to say here that the people were suffering, as indeed they had suffered for years, from war and from wicked legislation. Their condition had become at length all but intolerable. They were driven to desperation by sheer want.

Dissolution of  
Parliament  
after the  
King's death.

By the law as it stood when George IV. died, the demise of the Crown involved a dissolution of Parliament.\* The Parliament which was in existence in 1830 had been elected in 1826. Since the beginning of 1828 the Duke of Wellington had been Prime Minister, with Mr. (soon after Sir Robert) Peel as Home Secretary, and Leader of the House of Commons. They decided to dissolve at once. After some sparring between the Opposition and the Ministry as to the necessity (which the Opposition asserted) of first settling the appointment of a regency in case of the King's death, Parliament

The Law  
respecting  
Dissolution.

\* That is, within a period of six months. This had been the law since the time of Anne. By the Reform Act of 1867 this law was repealed, and it was enacted that for the future the Parliament in existence at the time of the death of a sovereign should continue for its full legal term, unless dissolved by the new sovereign.

was prorogued by the King in person on the twenty-third of July, and on the following day it was dissolved.

CHAP. II.  
1830.

It must not be forgotten that in the Parliament thus dissolved, and especially in the session just brought to a close, the question of Reform had held a prominent place. At the very beginning of the session, in the first week of February, the Marquis of Blandford (afterwards Duke of Marlborough) moved an amendment to the Address, in which, though a Tory, he affirmed the conviction "that the State is at this moment in the most imminent danger, and that no effectual measures of salvation will or can be adopted until the people shall be restored to their rightful share in the legislation of the country." In making this proposition Lord Blandford, who had been conspicuous for his opposition to the Catholic claims in the previous year, was moved chiefly by his dislike to the close or decayed boroughs, the existence of which he held to be favourable to "the accumulation of Roman Catholic power" in Parliament. He was supported on very different grounds by Mr. O'Connell, but was defeated by a vote of 96 to 11. A few days later he introduced a specific plan of Reform—a very Radical plan indeed—but was again ignomini-

Reform in the last session of the expiring Parliament.

The Marquis of Blandford.



- CHAP. II.  
1830.  
Lord John Russell.
- ously defeated; then, on the twenty-third of February, Lord John Russell (at that time member for Bandonbridge, in Ireland) asked for leave to bring in a bill for conferring the franchise upon Leeds, Manchester, and Birmingham, as the three largest unrepresented towns in the kingdom, but was defeated by 188 votes to 140; and finally, on the twenty-eighth of May—scarcely two months before the dissolution—Mr. O'Connell brought in a bill to establish universal suffrage, vote by ballot, and triennial parliaments, but found only 13 members to support him in a House of 332.
- Mr. O'Connell.
- The Duke of Newcastle.
- One other discussion took place during the session, of more immediate importance, perhaps, as to its influence upon the public mind, than any of those which have been referred to. On the first of March, a petition was presented from certain electors of the borough of Newark, complaining of the action of the Duke of Newcastle at a recent election in that borough. The Duke was possessed of large property within the borough, and had always been able to control the elections. Part of his property was held under lease from the Crown. Sir H. Clinton having vacated his seat for Newark on the approach of the Catholic question, Mr. Michael Thomas Sadler had been brought forward in

the interest of the Duke. He was opposed, but unsuccessfully, by Mr. Serjeant Wylde. The petition stated "that the return of Mr. Sadler was obtained by the means of the prevalent belief, founded on the experience of former elections, that such of the Duke's tenants as should vote against his Grace's nominee would be expelled from their tenancies; that many of the tenants gave their votes to the opposing candidate; and, since the election, every one of his Grace's tenants who had so voted had received notice to quit his holding, whether it constituted part of the estate of the Crown, or the private property of his Grace." It was added that his Grace had neither denied that such notices had been given nor had disclaimed them, but had justified them upon a claim of right "to do what he would with his own." The petition came to nothing, but the Duke's claim was remembered. His words became proverbial. They had a good deal to do with what happened to what was really "his own," in the autumn of the following year.

CHAP. II.

1830.

"Doing what  
he would with  
his own."

Thus, the question of Reform was now before the country, not merely as a popular but as a Parliamentary question. It is not too much to say that, when the dissolution occurred, it occupied all minds. The Tories, if we except such

Reform now a  
Parliamentary  
Question.

## THE THREE REFORMS OF PARLIAMENT.

CHAP. II.

1830.

Tories as the Marquis of Blandford, dreaded it to a man. The Whigs, on the other hand, favoured it,—that is, they were in favour of Reform in the abstract ; but they had yet to learn, by actual contact with the people, how far it was necessary for them to go. It is worthy of notice that when, towards the close of February, Mr. Huskisson seconded Lord John Russell's proposal to give the franchise to Leeds, Manchester, and Birmingham, he emphatically declared that this was all he was prepared to concede. The recent death of the King, and the Revolution in France, which latter event took place in the very week fixed for the commencement of the elections, convinced a great many of Mr. Huskisson's party, before the month of September was over, that it would be necessary to concede a great deal more.\*

preparations  
for the Elec-  
tion of the new  
Parliament.

No sooner had Parliament been dissolved than preparations for the election of the new Parliament were begun. The writs were returnable in fifty-four days. The whole of August and a considerable part of September, therefore, were

Mr. Huskisson.

\* Mr. Huskisson, who had just been re-elected for Liverpool, of which borough he had been one of the representatives since 1823, died on the fifteenth of September, 1830, from injuries he had received the same day at the opening of the Manchester and Liverpool Railway.

occupied with the elections, which were attended by an unparalleled degree of excitement, and, in too many cases, by disorder and even riot. For, as has been already mentioned, the pollings were at that time not unfrequently extended over a period of fifteen days, and the canvassing and the nomination in each case occupied many more days before the actual polling was entered upon. Besides, there was only one polling-place for each borough or county, and the electors who resided in the larger counties—such as the county of York, for example—had in some instances to make a journey, frequently on foot, of forty or fifty miles, for the purpose of recording their vote. It is not to be supposed that the evils attendant upon such a system were less grave on this than on former occasions. With distress at home and revolution across the Channel, it would have been wonderful indeed if three hundred and seventy-nine elections could have been conducted—although, of course, in many places there was no actual contest—without much popular commotion, and not a little danger to the public peace.

Whatever the character of the elections, their result was remarkable. It is needless to repeat that there were a good many pocket-boroughs, and a good many counties in which the landlord

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CHAP. II.

1830.

The result of  
the Elections.

CHAP. II.  
1830.

influence was predominant. The issue in these cases was certain beforehand. They were Whig and Tory by a law as fixed and undeviating as that by which the planets hold their courses in the sky. But wherever the elections were really popular, the issue might, as it turned out ultimately, have been predicted with almost equal confidence. Not a single member of the Duke of Wellington's Cabinet obtained a seat in the new Parliament by anything approaching to free and open election. Many members of the Opposition, on the other hand, who had formerly represented small or comparatively unimportant places, were now returned by great city or county constituencies. For example, Viscount Ebrington, who had represented Tavistock in the late Parliament, was now elected and sat for the county of Devon. Mr. Hume, who up to that time had represented the Aberdeen district of boroughs, including his native town of Montrose, was now returned without opposition for the county of Middlesex. Mr. Brougham (afterwards Lord Brougham), who had sat for Lord Clevedon's borough of Winchelsea, and more recently for the Duke of Devonshire's borough of Knaresborough, was returned at this election, second only to Lord Morpeth (afterwards Earl of Carlisle), for the

great county of York. When all was over, and the results were reckoned up, it was found that, of the twenty-eight members who represented the thirteen greatest cities in England (to say nothing of Wales, Scotland, or Ireland), only three were Ministerialists; and that, of the eighty-two members who represented the forty English counties, only twenty-eight were Ministerialists, while forty-seven were avowedly on the other side. There were sixty-two other places in England which returned one hundred and twenty-six members, and of these only forty-seven were Ministerialists. Of the two hundred and thirty-six men who were returned by elections, more or less popular, in England, only seventy-nine were Ministerialists; while one hundred and forty-one were avowedly in opposition, and the remaining sixteen were as likely to vote in opposition as not, if circumstances rendered that course the more convenient.\*

CHAP. II.  
—  
1830.

\* It is proper to add that this result was not due *wholly* to the Reform agitation, though it was *mainly*. There were certain Tory magnates whom the Government had offended, chiefly by their legislation for the relief of the Catholics, and who seized this opportunity of avenging themselves. For example, the Duke of Newcastle, who, in the previous February, had wondered "why he might not do what he would with his own," made his tenantry vote against the Ministry at this election. But the mem-

The result of  
the Elections  
not due  
wholly to  
Reform.

## CHAP. II.

1830.

The first  
Parliament  
under the new  
reign.

The first Parliament of William IV. met on the twenty-sixth of October, but the session was not really opened till the second of November, when the King came down and delivered his Speech. It was noticed in the debate on the Address that he had made no reference to Reform, though it was hardly expected that he would do so. But neither was it expected that he would conclude with a magniloquent laudation of "that happy form of government" under which, "through the favour of Divine Providence," this country was privileged to live; nor was it expected that the only passage in the Speech which could by possibility be supposed to have reference to the Reformers, imputed to them, not without "grief and indignation," a desire to excite "a spirit of discontent and disaffection," which the King was determined, "to the utmost of his power, and by all the means which the law and the constitution had placed at his disposal," promptly to suppress and punish.

Speech of the  
Duke of  
Wellington.

The occasion was made memorable, however, not by the King's Speech, but by a speech by

bers thus returned, though not Liberals, served to a very large extent the purpose of the Liberals. They were more anxious than even the Whigs themselves to oust the existing Administration. The result of the elections as a whole was that the Ministerial majority was reduced by at least fifty votes.

the Duke of Wellington, who was then Prime Minister.\* The Duke was undoubtedly a great soldier. In that capacity, he had deserved well

CHAP. II.

1830.

\* The Duke of Wellington, as has been already stated, had been Prime Minister since the beginning of 1828. It was in the debate on the Address immediately after the Duke's appointment, that Mr. Brougham made the speech which contained the following words:—"I cannot sit down without saying a few words as to one part of the arrangements of the new Government. I wholly disapprove of the Commander-in-chief of the Army being placed at the head of the civil government of the country. The noble duke has not only the patronage of the Army and of the Church and most of the other patronage of the State, but to him also is entrusted the delicate and most important function of having constant access to the ear of his royal master. We are told, indeed, of the great vigour he shows in council, and that his talents are not confined to war. It may be so; indeed, I have no doubt it is so; but the objection remains—he is a soldier, and a successful soldier too. . . . I have no fear of slavery being introduced into this country by the sword. It would take a stronger man than the Duke of Wellington, though he be at once Prime Minister and Commander-in-chief of the Army; and though, added to the Army, he should have the mitre, and, to that, the great seal. I will make him a present of them all; and yet, with all these powers heaped upon him, let him, sword in hand, come out against the constitution, and the people would not only beat him, but laugh at him. These are not the times when the soldier only is abroad. In the nineteenth century, a new power bears sway. *The schoolmaster is abroad! I will trust more to him, armed with his primer, than to the soldier with his bayonet!*"

Mr. Brougham  
on the Duke  
of Wellington.

"The school-  
master is  
abroad."



CHAP. II.

1830.

of his country; and when, after twenty-two more years had passed away, he was laid in his grave by the side of Nelson, there were few who grudged the honours which were given to the hero who had distinguished himself nearly fifty years before at Assaye, and thirty-seven years before on the field of Waterloo. But, if the Duke was a great soldier, and in some aspects of his character a great man, he was certainly not a great statesman. The best that can be said of him in this last capacity is that he generally knew when he was beaten. He gave in to the claims of the Catholics in 1829, rather than plunge his country into civil war; three years later, as we shall see, he surrendered on the question of Reform, rather than see the House of Lords swamped, and the King humiliated, by a special creation of peers.

In the present position of affairs, however, he saw no necessity for surrender. He recognised no peril, and would acknowledge none. If the people were riotous, he knew how to deal with them. As to revolution on the Continent, they were always revolutionising on the Continent, and the sea rolled between us and them. Accordingly, when Earl Grey and others complained that there was no reference to Reform in the King's Speech, the Duke was ready at once

with his reply. The King's Speech was nothing to it. It took away the breath of even his own supporters. When the Duke sat down, says Lord Russell, the buzz around him was so loud, that, whispering to a colleague, he asked the reason for it. "You have announced the fall of your Government, that is all," was his colleague's answer.\* In all probability, his colleague was Lord Lyndhurst. "Never was there an act of more egregious folly, or one so universally condemned," says Charles Greville.† If this was the opinion of the Duke's friends, what must have been the judgment of his opponents! The Reformers may well have said on such an occasion, as Cromwell is reported to have said of Leslie at the Battle of Dunbar, "The Lord hath delivered him into our hands!"

As the Duke's speech has become historical, it is necessary to quote that part of it which has special reference to Reform. "The noble Earl," said the Duke, "has alluded to something in the shape of a Parliamentary Reform, but he has been candid enough to acknowledge that he is not prepared with any measure of Reform; and I have as little scruple to say that his Majesty's Government is as totally unprepared as the

CHAP. II.

1830.

\* Lord Russell's "Recollections," p. 62.

† "The Greville Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 53.

CHAP. II.

1830.

noble lord. Nay, on my own part, I will go further, and say, that I have never read or heard of any measure, up to the present moment, which could in any degree satisfy my mind that the state of the representation could be improved, or be rendered more satisfactory to the country at large than at the present moment. I am fully convinced that the country possesses at the present moment a legislature which answers all the good purposes of legislation, and this to a greater degree than any legislature ever has answered in any country whatever. I will go further, and say, that the legislature, and the system of representation, possess the full and entire confidence of the country, deservedly possess that confidence, and the discussions in the legislature have a very great influence over the opinions of the country. I will go still further, and say, that if at the present moment I had imposed upon me the duty of forming a legislature for any country, and particularly for a country like this, in possession of great property of various descriptions, I do not mean to assert that I would form such a legislature as we possess now, for the nature of man was incapable of reaching it at once ; but my great endeavour would be to form some description of legislature which would produce the same results.

The representation of the people at present contains a large body of the property of the country, in which the landed interests have a preponderating influence. Under these circumstances, I am not prepared to bring forward any measure of the description alluded to by the noble lord. I am not only not prepared to bring forward any measure of this nature, but I will at once declare that, as far as I am concerned, as long as I hold any station in the government of the country, I shall always feel it my duty to resist such measures when proposed by others."

CHAP. II.

1830.

Exactly fourteen days after the delivery of this speech, the Duke's career as Prime Minister came for the time to a close. On the sixteenth of November he came down to Westminster, and announced that he had resigned office. In the meantime, there had been something like a panic in the city, because Ministers, apprehending disturbance, had advised the King and Queen to abandon an engagement to dine, on the ninth, with the Lord Mayor at the Guildhall. On the fifteenth, too, the Government had sustained a defeat in the House of Commons, on a motion proposed by Sir Henry Parnell on the part of the Opposition having reference to the civil list. This defeat was made the pretext for resignation. But it was only a pretext. After the Duke's

Resignation of  
office by the  
Duke.

## CHAP. II.

1830.

Earl Grey  
Prime  
Minister.

declaration in regard to Reform, and in view of his daily increasing unpopularity, his continuance in office was impossible.

The resignation of the Duke of Wellington having been accepted, Earl Grey was authorised and commanded to form an Administration. Earl Grey was now sixty-six years of age. He had entered Parliament in his twenty-second year, as member for Northumberland; he was the friend and follower of Fox; and, on the death of that Minister in 1806, he had succeeded to the office of Secretary for Foreign Affairs, having already filled for a short time the post of First Lord of the Admiralty. In 1807, on the death of his father, he entered the Upper House. So far back as 1792, and in several succeeding years, he had brought the question of Reform before Parliament and the country; and, though then unsuccessful, he had been faithful to the cause ever since. For many years he had been one of the leaders of the Opposition. His high character, his dignified bearing, and his stately eloquence, combined with the antiquity of his house, gave him a place second to none in the respect and attachment of his own order; while by the people generally he was highly esteemed. The choice of the King, therefore, could have fallen upon no more suitable person

for Prime Minister than Charles Earl Grey. But he could have accepted office in no other character than as a Reforming Minister. Accordingly, he made it a condition of proceeding farther, that Reform should be made a Cabinet question. This condition was at once acquiesced in by the King. It was also a condition precedent to the acceptance of office by any whom he should select to be his colleagues.

CHAP. II.

1830.

Of course, the selection of his colleagues was the first duty of the new Premier. On the whole, the task was not attended with much difficulty. Viscount Althorp, the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Earl of Durham, Viscount Melbourne, Viscount Palmerston, Sir James Graham, were all ready to assist Earl Grey as members of the Cabinet; while in subordinate offices he had the co-operation of two noblemen destined to be as distinguished as any of those named — Lord John Russell (afterwards Earl Russell), and the Hon. Edward Stanley (afterwards Earl of Derby). There was only one man who was difficult to deal with, and that was Henry Brougham. Mr. Brougham, who was then fifty-two years of age, had entered the House of Commons, as member for Camelford, in 1810. He had been one of the chief instruments in the abolition of the slave trade in 1811. For many years he had held

His colleagues.

Henry  
Brougham.

CHAP. II.

1830.

a foremost place at the bar; and his defence of Queen Caroline against her husband, George IV., while it brought down upon him the hostility of the Court, raised him prodigiously in the estimation of the country. As an orator he was unsurpassed. His triumphant return for Yorkshire at the General Election was only a just recompense for his services, and an acknowledgment of his splendid talents. But he was restless and overbearing. By not a few persons his genius was believed to lie on the very borderland of insanity. If his powers were great, he was fully conscious of the fact, and he took good care that no one else should forget it. In the late Parliament, he had been practically, though not nominally, leader of his party in the House of Commons. Recent events had made him more than ever the idol of the people. How to secure him as a colleague, without receiving him as a master, was Lord Grey's single but seemingly insuperable difficulty. To the utter astonishment of every man in England at the time—though the event has since been fully explained and accounted for\*—the knot was cut, if it was not untied, by his elevation to the woolsack; and the then fully-constituted Admin-

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\* "The Life and Times of Henry Lord Brougham." Written by himself. Vol. iii. p. 73, etc.

istration having met Parliament on the twenty-second of November, and some pressing matters of business (including the settlement of a regency) having been attended to, the Houses were prorogued on the twenty-second of December to the third of the following February.

CHAP. II.

1830.

Prorogation of  
Parliament.

In the meantime, the state of the country, which had been grave enough in the summer and autumn, became seriously alarming with the advent of winter. In Ireland, the potato-crop had to a large extent failed. Throughout England and Scotland, the harvest had been deficient. This, when no importation of foreign corn was allowed except under an all but prohibitory duty, was a terrible calamity, especially to the labouring classes. At the present day, there is, no doubt, enough of poverty, but we seldom hear of actual starvation. In the winter of 1830, as we are credibly informed in reports which were published at the time, agricultural labourers were found starved to death, having tried in vain to support nature with sorrel and other such-like food. Landlords abated their rents, and the clergy their tithes, thus sharing the sufferings of their dependents and inferiors; but the point was at length reached when neither rents nor tithes could be paid at all by the tenantry, and the wages of the

The state of  
the country.



CHAP. II.

1830.

labourers (such as could find employment of any kind) were so reduced that they did not suffice to support existence. Nor were the agricultural interests alone affected. Merchants and manufacturers, traders and shipowners, complained only less loudly than the landlords and the farmers; so that town and country alike were enveloped in the cloud which hung over the nation during that terrible winter. No wonder that disturbance followed. The gaols were filled with miserable wretches, who at least found comfort there in the fact that they were fed. They needed neither Cobbett nor Carlile to incite them to crime.\* Desperate men need no incitement. The disturbances were ultimately allayed by the judicious measures taken by the new Government, and by the promise of that Reform in Parliament to which the people had begun to look as the only means of obtaining

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Cobbett and  
Carlile.

\* Cobbett and Carlile were both brought to trial on a charge of having incited the people to riot by the use of seditious and inflammatory language. Carlile was tried at the Old Bailey on the tenth of January, 1831. He was sentenced to pay a fine of £200, and to be imprisoned for two years—though not until after the Recorder had spent several hours (from nine at night till one or two in the morning) before he could get the jury to agree to a verdict. Cobbett's trial was postponed till the following July. He was discharged because the jury failed to agree.

the redress of their grievances and the alleviation of the burdens under which they groaned.

CHAP. II.  
—  
1830-31.

Slowly and sadly the days dragged on till the re-assembling of Parliament. But we may well believe that they passed all too rapidly for the Ministry, and especially for those members of that body who had been entrusted with the special duty of drafting the great measure for which the country now so eagerly looked. This duty was entrusted in the first instance to the Earl of Durham, who had earned this confidence not only by his great ability, but by his consistent advocacy of Reform. The Earl associated with himself Lord John Russell (at that time member for Tavistock), who, though not in the Cabinet—for he held no higher position than that of Paymaster of the Forces—was also a very eminent Reformer : likewise, Sir James Graham, First Lord of the Admiralty, who was then very popular with his party, and was supposed to be the most Radical in his opinions of all the members of the Cabinet ; and Viscount Duncannon, the eldest son of the Earl of Bessborough, and First Commissioner of Woods and Forests, who, having acted for a long time as “whipper-in” to the Whig party, was naturally supposed to be intimately acquainted

Preparation  
of a Reform  
Bill.

The Com-  
mittee.

CHAP. II.

1830-31.

Their  
proceedings.Lord John  
Russell's  
scheme.

with the feelings of the House of Commons, and with the wishes of the Whig members.

For an account of the proceedings of this Committee, we are indebted to Earl Russell. It was first given to the public by him in 1865. He was asked by Lord Durham, he says, to frame, for the consideration of the Committee, a sketch of the principal heads of a measure of Reform, to be submitted to Lord Grey, and, if approved by him, to be proposed to the Cabinet. "Thus invited to propose a plan on a great, important, and difficult subject, I felt bound to consider the general principles upon which a sound measure of Reform should rest. . . . With these strong impressions upon my mind, I was not likely to deviate from the track of the Constitution into the maze of fancy, or the wilderness of abstract rights. . . . There were, evidently, two modes in which Reform might be approached. The one was to consider the right of voting as a personal privilege possessed by every man of sound mind, and of years of discretion, as an inherent inalienable right, belonging to him as a member of a free country. According to this theory, the votes of the whole adult male population form the only basis of legitimate government. Other political writers and eminent statesmen, while of opinion that a

free and full representation of the people forms a necessary condition of free government, acknowledge no personal right of voting as inalienable and essential. They consider that the purpose to be attained is good government; the freedom of the people within the State, and their security from without; and that the best mode of attaining these ends is the problem to be solved. It seemed to me that these last reasoners were in the right. . . . It was desirable, in short, as it appeared to me, while sweeping away gross abuses, to avail ourselves, as far as possible, of the existing frame and body of our institutions. Thus, if the due weight and influence of property could be maintained by preserving the representation of a portion of the small boroughs with an improved franchise, it was desirable rather to build on the old foundations than to indulge our fancy or our conceit in choosing a new site and erecting on new soil—perhaps on sand—an edifice entirely different from all which had hitherto existed. At the same time, I was deeply impressed with the conviction of Lord Grey, that none but a large measure would be a safe measure; that to nibble at disfranchisement, and to cramp Reform by pedantic adherence to existing rights, would be to deceive expectation, to

CHAP. II.

1839-31.

CHAP. II.

1830-31.

The Bill as  
prepared by  
Ministers  
approved by  
the King.

whet appetite, and to bring on that revolution which it was our object to avert. I endeavoured, therefore, to cut away what was rotten, to preserve what was worth preserving, and to introduce what would strengthen and improve.”\*

The plan prepared on these principles by Lord John Russell was submitted to Lord Durham, and was approved by him, with certain modifications. “When the proposals were completed, Lord Durham wrote an admirable report upon the plan, which was presented, in the name of the Committee, to Lord Grey. The plan approved by him was unanimously approved by the Cabinet; and Lord Grey, carrying it himself to Brighton, explained it fully to the King, by whom it was readily and cheerfully sanctioned. It should be mentioned that, in one of the last days of our sittings, vote by ballot was, against my earnest advice, adopted by the Committee. It was, on the recommendation of Lord Grey, omitted by the Cabinet.† In talking over the

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\* “Essay on the History of the English Government and Constitution,” by John Earl Russell; ed. 1873, pp. 238-247.

Omission of  
the ballot.

† The omission of the ballot from the scheme was to a considerable extent the result of the King’s objection, though several of the Ministers sided with the King. Nothing would have induced the King to consent to the ballot.

whole matter with Lord Grey, I stated my impression that, if the plan were kept secret till the moment of its being announced to Parliament, its popularity would ensure its success; but that, if prematurely divulged, an adverse vote might stifle the infant in its cradle. In this opinion Lord Grey fully concurred, and so strongly impressed upon his colleagues the necessity of secrecy, that, of more than thirty persons who knew the plan, not one was found indiscreet.\*

CHAP. II.

1831.

On the third of February, pursuant to the terms of the prorogation, Parliament re-assembled. The only immediate reference to Reform was an announcement by Earl Grey that a measure had been prepared,—that it would be introduced in the House of Commons on the first of March,—and that it would be in the special charge of Lord John Russell, who, “having advocated the cause of Parliamentary Reform, with ability and perseverance, in days when it was not popular, ought, in the opinion of the

The re-  
assembling of  
Parliament.

Lord John  
Russell to  
bring in the  
Bill.

(“Correspondence between Earl Grey and William IV.,” vol. i. pp. 96, 97, etc.) The ballot was not introduced in Parliamentary and Municipal Elections in Great Britain and Ireland till 1872.

\* “Essay,” etc., by John Earl Russell; ed. 1873, pp. 251, 252.

## CHAP. II.

1831.

Administration, to be selected, now that the cause was prosperous, to bring forward a measure of full and efficient Reform, instead of the partial measures he had hitherto proposed."

The choice a  
judicious one.

The choice of Lord John Russell for this special duty was on every account a judicious one. He was as yet in the prime of life, having reached only his thirty-ninth year; but his Parliamentary experience had extended over eighteen years, and as early as 1819 he had energetically devoted himself to the cause of Reform, to which he was able to say, in 1822, that he had already "served an apprenticeship." In addition to these considerations, there were those of his great abilities, his unblemished reputation, and his distinguished name, all of which gave him a position, both in the nation and in Parliament, which was, however, only a promise of the affection and regard in which he was to be held by his countrymen for fifty years longer.

But there were other reasons for the selection of Lord John Russell besides those just suggested. The only member of the Cabinet in the House of Commons who could have undertaken the task at all appropriately was Lord Althorp; for Sir James Graham could not have spoken with sufficient authority, and Lord Palmerston, as a disciple of Mr. Canning, was supposed, and, as his

CHAP. II.

1831.

subsequent career proved, only too justly, to be rather acquiescent than enthusiastic in his adherence to Reform. The objection to Lord Althorp was that he was not strong enough. He was neither a fluent speaker nor a ready debater; and he owed his position, as Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House of Commons, rather to his strong common sense and his integrity of purpose, than to any special ability that he had ever displayed. He was known among his contemporaries as "Honest Jack Althorp." A good story is told of him by Earl Russell, in the "History of the English Government and Constitution," already quoted. "Sir," he said, replying to a very acute and ingenious speech to which he had just listened, "the hon. and learned gentleman's arguments are very plausible. I do not recollect the reasons which prove his objections to be groundless, but I know that those reasons were perfectly satisfactory to my own mind." And the House voted, by a great majority, against the plausible arguments, and in favour of the unknown replies.\* But such a man, however estimable, was not the man to carry a Reform Bill through

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\* Lord Althorp became Earl Spencer on the death of his father in 1834. He thenceforth lived the life of a country gentleman, till his death in 1845.



## CHAP. II.

1831.

the House of Commons. The choice of Lord John Russell, therefore, was almost a necessity. It was fully justified. Before the battle of Reform was over, he was not only a member of the Cabinet, but was regarded as one of England's leading statesmen.

The introduc-  
tion of the  
Bill.

The day on which Lord John Russell rose to address the House, in order to introduce his first Reform Bill, must ever be regarded as a memorable one in our history. It had been anticipated with the utmost eagerness on the one side, and with not unreasonable apprehension on the other. Never in that generation had the House of Commons been so crowded. All the most eminent politicians in the country were either there in person, or were anxiously awaiting intelligence of what took place.\* It was the

The old House.

*old* House in which they met. That House had

The public  
excitement.

\* "On that day, the friends of the Ministry had dinner parties, where the guests sat watching the clock, and waiting for tidings. The Lord Chancellor had promised the hostess of one of these parties that no one should be earlier served with the news than she; and anxiously she sat at the head of her table till the packet was brought in which the Lord Chancellor had despatched the moment he found that Lord John Russell had begun his speech. As she read aloud, exclamations of surprise at the scope of the scheme burst forth. And so it was all over the kingdom."—Miss Martineau's "History of England during the Thirty Years' Peace," vol. ii. p. 26.

none of the splendour in furniture and surroundings with which we in these days are so familiar. But some of the most glorious struggles for freedom against privilege recorded in our history had been carried on within its walls. For little less than three hundred years, with occasional intervals, it had been the meeting-place of the Commons of England. Hampden had raised his voice beneath that roof, and it is by no means improbable that Lord William Russell had pleaded the cause of the people from the very place which his successor now occupied. It had been the scene of the successes of the two Pitts and of Burke, and had echoed to the splendid declamation of Sheridan and of Fox. There are those who are of opinion that, with the era of Reform, there began also a new era in oratory, and that statesmen were yet to be heard in that House, and still more in the new House by which it was succeeded,\* worthy to be named with the greatest who are known to us only through history, or through the marbles in the adjacent Abbey.

CHAP. II.  
1831.

Its associa-  
tions.

At six o'clock in the evening of the first of March, Lord John Russell began his speech. It is reported that he spoke in rather a low voice,

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\* The old Houses of Parliament were destroyed by fire, Oct. 16, 1834.

CHAP. II.

1831.

Lord John  
Russell's  
speech.

and with a somewhat deprecatory manner. "He spoke," writes Greville, "for two hours and a-quarter, and they say it was ludicrous to see the faces of the members for those places which are to be disfranchised, as they were severally announced." \* The purpose of Lord John, in this first speech, was simply to "move for leave to bring in a Bill to amend the Representation of the People in England and Wales." The discussion on this motion extended over seven nights, from the first to the ninth of March; and in the course of the discussion no fewer than seventy-one speeches were delivered—thirty-four on the side of Reform, and thirty-seven in opposition. It is impossible even to summarise these speeches here. They occupy in "Hansard's Parliamentary Debates" nearly five hundred and fifty columns of that closely-printed journal. One passage in Lord John Russell's speech ought, however, to be quoted, as having become almost classical.

First he laid it down, after some preliminary observations, that the question of *right* was in favour of the Reformers, for the ancient constitution of the country declared

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\* "The Greville Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 121.

that no man should be taxed for the support of the state who had not consented, either by himself or by his representatives, to the imposition of the tax. But, "the right being thus in favour of Reform, let us now," said Lord John, "look at the question as one of *reason*. Allow me to imagine for a moment a stranger from some distant country, who should arrive in England to examine our institutions. All the information he had collected would have told him that this country was singular for the degree which it had attained in wealth, in science, and in civilisation. He would have learnt that in no country have the arts of life been carried further, nowhere the inventions of mechanical skill been rendered more conducive to the comfort and prosperity of mankind. He would have made himself acquainted with its fame in history, and, above all, he would have been told that the proudest boast of this celebrated country was its political freedom. If, in addition to this, he had heard that, once in six years, this country, so wise, so renowned, so free, chose its representatives to sit in the great council where all the ministerial affairs were discussed and determined, he would not be a little curious to see the process by which so important and solemn an operation was effected.

CHAP. II.

1831.

CHAP. II.

1831.

What, then, would be his surprise if he were taken by his guide, whom he had asked to conduct him to one of the places of election, to a green mound, and told that this green mound sent two members to parliament? or to be taken to a stone wall, with three niches in it, and told that these three niches sent two members to parliament? or if he were shown a green park, with many signs of vegetable life, but none of human habitation, and told that this green park sent two members to parliament? But his surprise would increase to astonishment if he were carried into the north of England, where he would see large, flourishing towns, full of trade and activity, containing vast magazines of wealth and manufactures, and were told that these places had no representatives in the assembly which was said to represent the people. Suppose him, after all—for I will not disguise any part of the case—suppose him to ask for a specimen of popular election, and to be carried for that purpose to Liverpool; his surprise would be turned into disgust at the gross venality and corruption which he would find to pervade the electors. After seeing all this, would he not wonder that a nation which had made such progress in every kind of knowledge, and which valued itself for

its freedom, should permit so absurd and defective a system of representation any longer to prevail?"

CHAP. II.

1831.

Such was Lord John Russell's position. His proposals were, briefly, these. First, he proposed to disfranchise sixty of the smallest boroughs, which returned one hundred and nineteen members, and which had fewer than two thousand inhabitants at the date of the census of 1821. There were forty-seven other boroughs, which returned ninety-four members, and which had fewer than four thousand inhabitants,—these were each to lose one member; and the borough of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, which returned four members, was to lose two members. This would place one hundred and sixty-eight seats at the disposal of the Government. Of these, eight were to be given to the metropolis, thirty-four to the large towns (two to each of seven towns, and one to each of twenty towns), fifty-five to the largest English counties, five to Scotland, three to Ireland, and one to Wales. By this new distribution of the franchise, the House of Commons would be reduced in number by sixty-two members, or from 658 to 596. Existing resident electors were not to be deprived of their present rights of voting during their lifetime, but all present rights

CHAP. II.  
1831.

of voting were to die out with the existing electors, and were not to be exercised in case of non-residence; while for the old rights of elections in boroughs a new £10 household franchise was to be substituted, and the corporations were to be deprived of their exclusive privileges. It was computed that half-a-million persons would be enfranchised by the bill. Improved arrangements were also proposed for the registration of voters, and for the polling at elections.

The debate on  
the motion  
to bring in  
the Bill.

These were the main provisions of the bill which Lord John Russell, on behalf of the Government, now sought permission to lay before the House. Lord John was followed by Sir Robert Harry Inglis, the Tory member for Oxford, who, of course, spoke strongly against the measure; and he was also followed on the successive nights of the debate by Lord Althorp, Mr. Hume, Mr. T. B. Macaulay (afterwards Lord Macaulay), Mr. Henry Hunt ("Orator" Hunt), Sir Charles Wetherell, Lord Morpeth (afterwards Earl of Carlisle), the Attorney-General (Sir Thomas, afterwards Lord, Denman), Lord Palmerston, Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Stanley (afterwards Earl of Derby), the Lord Advocate (Lord Jeffrey), Mr. J. W. Croker, Colonel Sibthorp, Mr. Daniel O'Connell, Sir James Graham, and

many others whom it is unnecessary even to name. The only other extract we make from the speeches is one from that of Sir Charles Wetherell, the "comical" member of the House, and a very high Tory, of whom we shall hear again. The following is the conclusion of his speech,—“after which,” says Greville, “Sir Charles sat down with such loud and long cheering as everybody agreed they had never heard in the House of Commons before.”\*

CHAP. II.

1831.

Sir Charles  
Wetherell.

After arguing at length against the bill, on historical and other grounds, Sir Charles said that he “should like to hear how the First Lord of the Admiralty would explain to his constituents at Cockermouth his conduct since he last addressed them. On that occasion retrenchment unlimited was to be the order of the day—all taxes burdensome to the middle and poorer classes were to be removed—and the constitution was to be restored to its ancient splendour by a full and satisfactory measure of Reform. Now, what answer could the right hon. baronet make to one of his agricultural constituents if thus accosted by him: ‘Well, Sir James, have you taken off the malt tax?’ ‘No,’ quoth the right hon. baronet. ‘Have you,’ rejoins the farmer, ‘at least taken off the

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\* “The Greville Memoirs,” vol. ii. p. 123.



CHAP. II.  
1831.

assessed taxes?' 'No,' again quoth the First Lord of the Admiralty, 'the House of Commons and a sense of duty prevented me.' 'Then,' again quoth the farmer, 'since you have neither repealed the malt tax nor the assessed taxes, what the devil have you done?' 'Why, we have not, to be sure, much reduced taxes, but, to make amends, we have taken off sixty-two members.' And the merry conceit might pass on the hustings as a redemption of all his pledges of retrenchment and economy. . . . There existed in Cromwell's time a purge of the House of Commons. The purge was called Colonel Pride's Purge. The gentlemen on the opposite side of the House were close imitators of the Cromwellian system, not only of his system of Parliamentary Reform, but also of his sanitary purgative system; for they were prepared to expel, by one strong dose, no less than one hundred and sixty-eight members of that House. He did not know what name he ought to attach to this specific, for he had not conceived it possible that the country would see a repetition of such a process a second time. Within the last three days, however, the House had been promised a purge, to which, as no name had yet been attached to it, he would attach the name of Russell's Purge. He would

call this bill, Russell's Purge of Parliament. Its principle was republican in its basis ; it was destructive of all property, of all right, of all privilege ; and the same arbitrary violence which expelled a majority of members from that House in the time of the Commonwealth was now, after a lapse of a century from the Revolution, during which we had enjoyed greater happiness than was ever enjoyed by any population under heaven, proceeding to expose the House of Commons again to the nauseous experiment of a repetition of Pride's Purge."

The closing speech in the debate was, of course, in reply, by Lord John Russell ; after which the motion for leave to bring in the bill, as well as two other bills for Scotland and Ireland respectively, was agreed to without a division. The bill was actually brought in on the following Monday (March 14), and it was read a second time, after two nights' debate, on the Tuesday in the next week. The second reading was carried, however, by a majority of only *one* (302 to 301) ; and it was remarked at the time that the vote would have gone the other way, but for the defection from the Opposition, for whatever reason, of the Right Hon. John Calcraft, who had been Paymaster of the

CHAP. II.  
1831.

The SECOND  
READING.

CHAP. II.  
1831.

Forces in the Duke of Wellington's Administration.\*

Interpretation  
of the vote on  
the SECOND  
READING.

As the Easter vacation was now at hand, the bill was not set down for Committee till Monday, the eighteenth of April. In the interval, the most diverse opinions were expressed respecting the interpretation which ought to be put upon the vote on the second reading. Technically, it was a triumph for the Ministers. They had obtained the sanction of the House for the principle of the bill, at the stage, too, when the question of principle is supposed to be decided. They had gained a triumph in yet another sense. However ready we may all of us be to reform other people, it is quite another matter when we are asked to reform ourselves. Naturally, the House of Commons, taking it as a whole, was inclined to fall in with the Duke of Wellington's opinion that it was an ideal representative assembly. Naturally, each individual member would be disposed to take the view—for which it would require no very great ingenuity on his part to discover reasons—that, even if cases of corruption must be acknow-

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\* Mr. Calcraft, in consequence of his vote on this occasion, lost the friendship of his party, and, sinking into a state of profound melancholy, he soon afterwards committed suicide.

ledged, his own case was not one of them. There would certainly not be many members likely to follow the example of the member for Ludgershall, who declared that he was not only member for Ludgershall, but likewise sole patron and constituency of Ludgershall, and yet that he intended to vote for the disfranchisement of Ludgershall, because he thought that it ought to be disfranchised. And the interests involved in the measure before the House were nothing less than tremendous. How could the one hundred and nineteen members, who represented the sixty boroughs which it was proposed to disfranchise, be expected to vote without reluctance for their own political extinction? How could the ninety-eight other members, who represented the forty-eight boroughs which it was proposed to disfranchise partially, be expected to favour a bill which must have the immediate effect of relegating one-half of them into the retirement of private life? The persons thus directly affected by the measure were one-third of the whole House. Another third were made up of the nominees of peers or great landlords, and must have felt themselves therefore affected by it indirectly. That a House so constituted and affected should have sanctioned the Ministerial measure by even the smallest possible majority, was certainly a moral triumph.

CHAP. II.

1831.

CHAP. II.  
1831.

But a moral triumph is confessedly one thing, and an actual triumph another. An eminent politician once remarked that, speaking for himself, he did not care for moral triumphs. In this case, if the technical and the moral victory was with the Ministry, the real victory was with their opponents. From the moment when the vote on the second reading was announced, the fate of the measure was practically settled. It was only necessary, when in Committee, to contrive an amendment which, while combining all who were opposed to the bill, should catch a few others, and it needed no prophet to foretell the result.

The Bill in  
Committee.

That result very soon happened. On the twelfth of April, a few days before the bill was to have gone into Committee, Lord John Russell announced certain modifications of the bill as to its details, which the Government had been induced, by various considerations, to adopt. These included the removal of five boroughs out of Schedule A (the boroughs to be totally disfranchised) into Schedule B (the boroughs to be only partially disfranchised). Seven other boroughs were to be removed out of Schedule B (that is, they were to retain their full representation); eight additional members were to be given to the counties, and seven to

certain large towns ; while one borough (the borough of Halifax) was to be restricted to the township, and to return one member, the parish being twenty-five miles in extent.\* These (with certain modifications as to the rights of freemen) were the principal alterations which Ministers intended to propose in Committee. But the bill was destined never to go into Committee. On the eighteenth of April, when that stage was reached, General Gascoyne (one of the members for Liverpool) moved, as an "instruction" to the Committee,—“That it is the opinion of this House that the total number of knights, citizens, and burgesses, returned to Parliament by that part of the United Kingdom called England and Wales ought not to be diminished ;” and this “instruction” was, after a debate which was not brought to a close till four o’clock in the morning of the next day but one, carried against Ministers by a majority of eight (299 to 291).

CHAP. II.

1831.

The Bill  
defeated.

Looking at the matter from a party point of view, there can be little doubt that this vote was a mistake on the part of the Opposition. As was pointed out the next day in the *Times*, the

\* One result of these alterations was, that the reduction in the number of members would have been only thirty-five, instead of sixty-two, as originally proposed.

CHAP. II.  
1831.

effect of the vote must be, inevitably, to increase the number of places possessing a popular representation. "It was giving the Reformers more of a good thing than they wanted." But it had another effect. It enabled Ministers to dissolve Parliament, and so to appeal to the country. This was exactly what they desired to do. In the existing House of Commons the bill *might* have been carried, though with difficulty, and hardly without alterations which must have robbed it of more than half its value. In a new House Ministers were justified in believing that, through the rapid growth of opinion, they would have things very much more their own way.

The King.

But they had first to convince the King. The blundering old man, though he had accepted Reform as a necessity, did not at all like it. He did not see very clearly at any time; but he now saw clearly enough—or, more probably, it had been pointed out to him—that the strengthening of the House of Commons must involve the weakening of the House of Lords, and that it might ultimately affect his own prerogative. Accordingly, when a dissolution was proposed to him, he at first refused *point blank*. He fell back upon a sort of understanding that had been previously arrived at, that he should not be required to dissolve on the question of Reform.

At length he was told—by Lord Grey and Lord Brougham, who waited upon him at St. James's—that the Lords were just about agreeing to an Address, urging him not, on any account, to consent to a dissolution. He fired up at once. He hated the idea of a dissolution, but he would not be dictated to, even by the Lords. He would go down to the House instantly. He would go in a hackney-coach if necessary. And he did go down—though not in a hackney-coach; and, walking rapidly into the Peers' Chamber, and taking his place upon the throne amidst a scene of confusion which is described as unparalleled, he began at once with the words, "I have come to meet you for the purpose of proroguing this Parliament, with a view to its immediate dissolution."\* Next day (April 23rd) the dissolution took place. The writs for the new Parliament were ordered to be returnable on the fourteenth of June.

CHAP. II.

1831.

The Disso-  
lution of  
Parliament.

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\* This account is given on the authority of Lord Brougham. A somewhat different account is given in the "Correspondence between Earl Grey and William IV.," edited by Henry Earl Grey (vol. i. pp. 234-236); but Lord Brougham's narrative appears to be in the main correct, with the exception that the King had already yielded to the strong representations of his Ministers *before* his interview with Earl Grey and Lord Brougham, and that his going down to the House was only hastened (not decided) by the action of the Opposition peers.



CHAP. II.  
 1831.  
 The new  
 Parliament.

“The Bill, the  
 whole Bill,  
 and nothing  
 but the Bill.”

When, after nearly two months, the new Parliament assembled, the House of Commons was a very different House from that which had been elected in the previous autumn. The interval had been marked by much excitement. There had been some disturbances, notably in Scotland and in London, where a good many windows were broken, and some few obnoxious individuals were insulted or pelted in the streets. But, for the most part, the excitement found vent in very different channels. London and many of the large towns were illuminated. Banners and bands of music were followed by exultant crowds. “The Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill,” \* was the cry all over the country ; but it was a cry rather of expectation than of disappointment—just such a cry as that of the men of Joshua, before which the walls of Jericho fell down. It need not be repeated that, when the elections took place, those whom the bill was to affect in the way of enfranchisement had no voice, or rather no vote. Leeds, Manchester, and Birmingham counted for less than Old Sarum. But those towns made themselves felt, nevertheless, through the Political Unions. These Unions, which now numbered, not thou-

\* This cry originated with Lord Brougham.—Earl Russell’s “Recollections and Suggestions,” p. 74. ;

sands, but hundreds of thousands of persons, concentrated the forces which, but for them, might have been dissipated. On the other side, there were the rotten boroughs, the close corporations, most of the territorial aristocracy, all who were anxious, either from fear or from self-interest, that the existing order of things should be preserved. But the contest was unequal. When the returns were made up, it was found that, out of the eighty-two county members for England, all but about half-a-dozen were pledged to the bill; and that at least one hundred of those members—including General Gascoyne himself—who had opposed the measure in the late Parliament, were altogether shut out from the new one.

Although Parliament assembled on the fourteenth of June, it was not till the twenty-fourth that Lord John Russell was enabled to introduce a Reform Bill for the second time. He spoke on this occasion with the authority of a Cabinet Minister; and it was noticed that there was both a dignity in his bearing, and a confidence in his tone, which indicated that he felt himself master of the situation. The bill was the same bill as before, with one or two unimportant amendments. It was read a first time without a division, and was followed two or three days later by bills for Scotland and Ireland. On the fourth of July, it

CHAP. II.

1831.

The second  
Reform Bill.

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## CHAP. II.

1831.

The Second  
Reading.The Bill in  
Committee.

came on for second reading, and this was carried, after three days' debate, by a majority of one hundred and thirty-six.\*

Obstruction. But the great fight was reserved for Committee. This was moved on Tuesday, the twelfth of July, and the discussion was actually prolonged till the seventh of September. On the first night, called "the night of divisions," the sitting was not closed till nearly eight in the morning. Nine times was motion made, "That Mr. Speaker leave the chair," and eight times, "That the House do now adjourn." A lengthened debate followed upon each motion. It was a specimen of that process of "Parliamentary obstruction," with which a later generation has become so painfully familiar.† But this was only a beginning. A regular committee for obstructing the bill was formed, with no less a person than Sir

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\* The division took place at five o'clock in the morning of the seventh of July. The numbers were:—For the second reading, 367; against, 231. A correspondent of the *Times* afterwards analysed the division-list, and showed pretty conclusively that, whatever the motives of the minority, the interest of every one of them was sufficient to account for his vote.

† When Sir Charles Wetherell, who led the Opposition on this occasion, came out of the House, he found that rain was falling heavily. "By God," he exclaimed, "if I had known this, they should have had a few more divisions!"

Robert Peel for its president. Every line—almost every word—was debated. There was no place which it was proposed either wholly or partially to disfranchise which did not find its advocate or apologist. Even Old Sarum was not consigned to oblivion in silence. It was computed by the *Spectator* that, between the twelfth and the twenty-seventh of July, on which day the Committee had reached only the end of Schedule A (the boroughs which were to be wholly disfranchised), Sir Robert Peel had spoken no fewer than forty-eight times, Mr. Croker fifty-seven times, and Sir Charles Wetherell fifty-eight times. This was the state of things which induced Lord Althorp—addressing a meeting of his supporters at the Foreign Office—to say:—“The enemies of Reform are miserably mistaken if they hope to defeat the bill by delay. Of this you may rest assured, that, rather than abandon the bill, Parliament will be kept sitting till next December, or next December twelve months if necessary.”

CHAP. II.  
1831.

After all, the Opposition gained nothing, or next to nothing, in Committee, with the sole exception of the “Chandos clause.” \* The

The “Chandos clause.”

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\* The “Chandos clause” was a clause proposed by the Marquis of Chandos (afterwards Duke of Buckingham), giving the county-franchise to *tenants at will* who occu-

The “Chandos clause.”

CHAP. II.  
1831.

The Bill  
passed.

Committee came to a close, as has been already stated, on the seventh of September (the day before that which had been fixed for the Coronation); and, after four more days' debate on the Report, in the course of which some unimportant amendments were made, the third reading was carried on the nineteenth of September (in a very thin House, for the division was taken sooner than had been expected) by a majority of fifty-five. Three days later (on the twenty-second of September), at five o'clock in the morning, the question was put, "That the Bill do now pass;" and, 345 voting for the Bill, and 236 against it, the majority for Ministers in this final division was one hundred and nine.\*

But now the question was on every lip, pied lands for which they paid a rent of £50 annually. This clause was opposed by Ministers on the ground that the class of persons proposed to be enfranchised would be, to a large extent, subject to the coercion of the landlords. The clause was supported, on the other hand, by many of the Radicals, who regarded any extension of the suffrage as a boon; and it was carried by a majority of eighty-four. The clause was incorporated in the bill of the following year by Ministers themselves, in deference to the vote of the House. The result proved a material accession to the Conservative strength in the counties.

\* The debate on the question, "That the Bill do now pass," was notable on account of a brilliant speech by Mr. (afterwards Lord) Macaulay, which, with four other speeches delivered by him during the Reform debates, appears in his published "Speeches."

"What will the Lords do?"\* It was known only too well that the great majority of the peers were strongly opposed to the bill. Several of them—Lord Eldon, for example—had openly declared against it. The Duke of Wellington, in words that were by no means forgotten, had avowed his hostility to all Reform; and his chief adviser, Sir Robert Peel, who was the last speaker in the Commons before the final division, had said, with that solemnity of emphasis that marked all his more serious utterances, that "he felt it his duty to continue, at the last stage of the bill, the opposition which he had offered to it at the beginning." But would the Lords *dare* to reject a bill which had been passed by such great majorities in the Commons, especially when the bill affected only the constitution of the Commons? Would they *dare* to reject it when, as they were obliged to acknowledge, the people were so plainly set upon it? Of course, nobody doubted the courage of the Lords. Some of them were descended from men who had come in with the Conqueror, and the shields of others were emblazoned with devices which had been

CHAP. II.

1831.

"What will  
the Lords  
do?"

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\* A tractate bearing this title had just been published, and very widely circulated. It was universally believed to be from the pen of Lord Brougham.

## CHAP. II.

1831.

earned by their ancestors at Agincourt or at Poitiers. The nobility of this country are not cowards. "I dare do all that may become a man," said Macbeth; and no doubt his descendants—if he has any descendants—would be ready enough to adopt the legend as their own. But courage—and especially merely physical courage—is not all that is required in political conflict. "The political party," says Carlyle, "that knows not when it is beaten, may become one of the fatalest of things to itself and to all." If the Lords had learnt the lesson at this time, and still more if they had remembered it in later years, it would have been better for their own order, and better for the country to which they owe all their privileges, and which has the right to expect so much at their hands.

Earl Grey  
proposes the  
Second Read-  
ing in the  
Lords.

It was not till the third of October that the Lords assembled to consider what they should do with the bill. Of course, the Prime Minister had charge of it. He spoke, we are told, with unwonted emotion—an emotion that at first checked his utterance; but, speedily recovering himself, he delivered a dignified and statesman-like address, which was worthy of even his high reputation. The closing passages of his speech, in which he addressed himself to the bishops, were the subject of much remark afterwards.

"He would venture," he said, "to address himself to one part of their Lordships' House, the Right Reverend prelates on the benches near him. He assured that body that no man was more attached than he was to the maintenance of all the rights and privileges of the Church—that no man held in higher veneration the purity of its doctrines and discipline—that no man was more ready to admit the zeal, and learning, and piety of those who presided over it. But let him at the same time respectfully entreat those Right Reverend prelates to consider, that, if this bill should be rejected by a narrow majority of the lay peers, and if its fate should thus, within a few votes, be decided by the heads of the Church, what would then be their situation with the country? Those Right Reverend prelates had shown that they were not indifferent or inattentive to the signs of the times. They had introduced measures for effecting some salutary reforms in the temporalities of the Church, and in this they had acted with wise forethought. Let them now follow up the same prudent course. The eyes of the country were upon them. He called upon them to 'set their house in order,'\* and prepare to meet the

CHAP. II.

1831.

His appeal to  
the Bishops.

\* This quotation, as was natural, gave great offence to the bishops. It is probable that Earl Grey had forgotten



CHAP. II.  
1831.

coming storm. They were the ministers of peace; earnestly did he hope that the result of their votes would be such as might add to the tranquillity, peace, and happiness of the country."

The Debate.

This remarkable speech of the Prime Minister was followed by one from the Earl of Wharncliffe in opposition to the bill. The Duke of Wellington spoke the next night, also in opposition; but he endeavoured likewise to explain, or to explain away, what he had said about Reform in the previous November. Lord Brougham spoke on the fifth night of the debate, and was followed by Lord Lyndhurst. The conclusion of Lord Brougham's speech has been often quoted, as one of the finest specimens of a kind of oratory more common at that time than since. "My Lords," he said, "I do not disguise the intense solicitude which I feel for the event of this debate, because I know full well that the peace of the country is involved in the issue. I cannot look without dismay at the rejection of the measure. But grievous as may be the consequences of a temporary defeat, temporary it can only be; for its ultimate and even speedy success is certain. Nothing can now stop it.

Lord  
Brougham's  
speech.

the connection—"Set thine house in order, *for thou must die, and not live*" (2 Kings xx. 1; Isaiah xxxviii. 1).

Do not suffer yourselves to be persuaded that, even if the present Ministers were driven from the helm, any one could steer you through the troubles which surround you, without Reform. But our successors would take up the task in circumstances far less auspicious. Under them, you would be fain to grant a bill, compared with which the one we now proffer you is moderate indeed. Hear the parable of the Sybil; for it conveys a wise and a wholesome moral. She now appears at your gate, and offers you mildly the volumes—the precious volumes—of wisdom and peace. The price she asks is reasonable; to restore the franchise, which, without any bargain, you ought voluntarily to give; you refuse her terms—her moderate terms—she darkens the porch no longer. But soon, for you cannot do without her wares, you call her back; again she comes, but with diminished treasures; the leaves of the book are in part torn away by lawless hands—in part defaced with characters of blood. But the prophetic maid has risen in her demands—it is Parliaments by the year—it is vote by the ballot—it is suffrage by the million! From this you turn away indignant, and for the second time she departs. Beware of her third coming; for the treasure you must have; and what price she may next

CHAP. II.

1831.

"The Sybil."

CHAP. II.

1831.

demand, who can tell? It may even be the mace which rests upon that woolsack! \* What may follow your course of obstinacy, if persisted in, I cannot take upon me to predict, nor do I wish to conjecture. But this I know full well, that, as sure as man is mortal, and to err is human, justice deferred enhances the price at which you must purchase safety and peace; nor can you expect to gather in another crop than they did who went before you, if you persevere in their utterly abominable husbandry of sowing injustice and reaping rebellion. But among the

“The Sybil.”

\* It is singular that the illustration of the Sybil had been used by a speaker—Col. Torrens, the member for Ashburton—at a meeting in the city only a few days previously. The coincidence, remarkable as it was, must have been accidental, for Lord Brougham would hardly have plagiarised from another speaker in what he intended to be the most impressive part of his speech. The following were Col. Torrens's words:—“The story of the Sybil will be remembered. She brought her mystic leaves to the high authorities of Rome, and demanded a high price. She was refused. She took half the leaves away, and, returning, again demanded her price, and was again refused. The leaves were again reduced one-half, and she came again, and demanded her price, when the authorities became alarmed, and they gave her her price. Now, gentlemen, we will a little reverse the story. We come to them with this bill, and nothing but this bill. If they reject it, we will come to them again, and will demand something more. If they again reject it, we will come again with a bill in which the House of Lords shall be inserted in Schedule A.”

awful considerations that now bow down my mind, there is one which stands pre-eminent above the rest. You are the highest judicature in the realm; you sit here as judges, and decide all causes, civil and criminal, without appeal. It is a judge's first duty never to pronounce sentence, in the most trifling case, without hearing. Will you make this the exception? Are you really prepared to determine, but not to hear, the mighty cause upon which a nation's hopes and fears hang? You are? Then beware of your decision! Rouse not, I beseech you, a peace-loving but a resolute people; alienate not from your body the affections of a whole empire. As your friend, as the friend of my order, as the friend of my country, as the faithful servant of my sovereign, I counsel you to assist with your uttermost efforts in preserving the peace, and upholding and perpetuating the Constitution. Therefore, I pray and I exhort you not to reject this measure. By all you hold most dear—by all the ties that bind every one of us to our common order and our common country—I solemnly adjure you—I warn you—I implore you—yea, on my bended knees I supplicate you—Reject not this Bill! ” \*

CHAP. II.

1831.

\* The noble lord suited the action to the word. He actually fell down on his knees on the floor of the House.

Lord  
Brougham on  
his knees.

## CHAP. II.

1831.

The Debate  
continued.

Lord Lyndhurst's speech was equally able, though very much less rhetorical. He was followed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Howley (who opposed the bill); by the Duke of Sussex (who supported it); and by the Duke of Gloucester (who opposed it). The Duke of Sussex was brother, and the Duke of Gloucester cousin, to the King. Daylight was approaching, on the eighth of October, when Earl Grey rose to reply. Altogether, upwards of thirty principal speeches had been delivered on the one side or on the other, besides a large number on the presentation of petitions. "By all accounts," says Greville, "the debate was a magnificent display, incomparably superior to that in the House of Commons." \* At between six and seven in the morning, the division was taken, when, including proxies, † 158 were found to

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His friends, says Lord Campbell, "alarmed lest he should be suffering from the effects of the mulled port" which he had "copiously imbibed" towards the conclusion of his speech, "picked him up and placed him safely on the woolsack." (See Campbell's "Chancellors," vol. viii. p. 398.) But this was one of those calumnies in which Lord Campbell was too apt to indulge in regard to persons whom he disliked.

\* "The Greville Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 202.

Vote by proxy.

† Vote by proxy was, at this time, permitted in the House of Lords (though not in Committee of the House). The proxies, on this occasion, were thirty for the bill, and forty-nine against it. Thus, of those who were

have voted for the second reading, and 199 against it. The bill was, consequently, lost. The only Royal Duke who voted for it was the Duke of Sussex; the Dukes of Cumberland and Gloucester voted against it. The only bishops who voted for it were the Bishops of Chichester and Norwich; twenty-one bishops voted against it. If the bishops (in response to the appeal of Earl Grey) had voted for the bill, the second reading would have been carried. It followed that the bishops were, for the time, the most unpopular men in England. As indicating to some extent the popular feeling on hearing the decision of the Lords, it may be mentioned that two of the daily papers (the *Sun* and the *Chronicle*) appeared next day in mourning; and that muffled bells were rung in several churches, both in the metropolis and in other parts of the country.

CHAP. II.

1831.

The Bill lost.

Thus, the question of Reform in Parliament was disposed of temporarily by the House of Lords. It had now to be referred once more to the people. On the very day that the bill was rejected, about two hundred members of the House of Commons met in Willis's Rooms, and agreed that a vote of confidence in the Ministry

The feeling  
in the country.

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actually present, the majority against the bill was only twenty-two. Voting by proxy was abolished in 1868.

## CHAP. II.

1831.

should be submitted to the House on the following Monday. On that day, the vote was proposed by Lord Ebrington, and was carried, amidst demonstrations of the utmost enthusiasm, by a majority of one hundred and thirty-one. Two days later, sixty thousand men marched in procession to St. James's, carrying with them a petition to the King that Ministers might be retained in office. The petition was taken charge of and presented by Mr. Hume, who was at that time member for Middlesex; and Mr. Hume was enabled presently to return to the crowd in the park, and to assure them that their prayer would be complied with.

These proceedings, and certain declarations by Ministers, dissipated the fear that the bill would be abandoned; and it was soon understood also that Parliament would not be dissolved, but would be only prorogued for a time, with a view to the re-introduction of the bill at the earliest possible opportunity. This sufficed to assure the Reform leaders that only patience was necessary; and they, and those under their guidance, were content to await the issue. But, in all periods of political excitement, there is a class of persons—chiefly of the very lowest order—who will submit to no control, and will recognise none; and it is to this class of persons, and not to the

Reformers, that all that followed must be attributed. For no sooner had the bill been rejected by the Lords than a spirit of anarchy broke out. First it made its appearance in London. There, the leaders of the anti-Reform party were attacked in the streets, one of them—the Marquis of Londonderry—being struck down by a stone, and another—the Duke of Cumberland—being dragged from his horse, and rescued with difficulty by the police. The bishops were the objects of special detestation. The windows of Apsley House were broken by the mob,\* and similar damage was done to other great houses.

CHAP. II.

1831.

Riots in  
London.

But all this was nothing to what followed in the country. At Derby, the mob broke out into open riot, and the riot was not put down for two days, nor, it was said, till several lives had been

At Derby.

\* The Duke of Wellington kept these windows closed with iron shutters till his death in 1852, after which the shutters were removed by his son and successor. "When he had regained all his popularity," says Mr. Raikes in his Journal, "he was riding one day up Constitution Hill, in the park, followed by an immense mob, who were cheering him in every direction. He heard it all with the most stoical indifference, never putting his horse out of a walk, or seeming to regard them, till he leisurely arrived at Apsley House, when he stopped at the gate, turned round to the rabble, and then, pointing with his finger to the iron blinds, he made them a sarcastic bow, and entered the court without saying a word."

The Duke.



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- CHAP. II.  
1831.  
At Nottingham.
- lost. Nottingham Castle, once a royal residence, and at this time the property of the Duke of Newcastle, was pillaged and burned, only the bare walls being left standing.\* At Beeston, in the same neighbourhood, a factory was destroyed. Colwick Castle, the residence of Mr. Musters, was set fire to, and Mr. Musters's wife, who was driven to take refuge in the shrubbery, soon afterwards died from the effects of the exposure.† Belvoir Castle, the seat of the Duke of Rutland, was also attacked. And, to crown all, both London and the whole country were startled by the news of riots in Bristol at the end of the month—riots which grew out of popular indignation against Sir Charles Wetherell, who, in spite of all remonstrances, and notwithstanding that he was one of the most hated members of the Tory party, persisted in making a public entrance into the city, for the purpose of discharging his duties as
- 
- At Bristol.
- Nottingham Castle.
- “Mary Chaworth.”
- \* Nottingham Castle remained in ruins till 1877–78, when it was restored; and it is now occupied as a Midland Counties' Art Museum. The Duke of Newcastle had already, in 1832, obtained from the county a sum of £21,000, as compensation for the damage which was done to his property.
- † This lady was the “Mary Chaworth” of Lord Byron, his first love, about whom he had written his poem, “The Dream.” The last lines that he wrote before leaving England were addressed to Mrs. Musters.

Recorder—during which at least twelve persons were killed, upwards of one hundred severely wounded, and property of the value of half-a-million sterling burned or otherwise destroyed.

CHAP. II.  
1831.

As has been already said, the Reformers, as such, were by no means to blame for these outrages. Doubtless, there were many misguided men amongst them, who, as individuals, took part in the excesses; but the leaders of the movement were not responsible. The same thing cannot be said respecting them in connection with the action of the Political Unions; and these soon became far more formidable than any demonstrations by the mob could ever have been. Even while the bill was still before the Lords, the Political Union of Birmingham held a meeting, at which it was said that one hundred and fifty thousand persons were present, and at which it was resolved that, if all constitutional modes of carrying the bill failed, they would refuse to a man to pay any more taxes. Similar demonstrations were now held in other large centres, such as Leeds and Manchester, though not on quite the same scale. Even in many of the smaller towns meetings were held, to join in the general protest; \* and it is not too much

The Political  
Unions.

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\* One of these was held at Taunton, on the eleventh of October; and it was on this occasion that the Rev. The Rev. Sydney Smith.

CHAP. II.

1831.

"Mrs.  
Partington."

to say that the whole nation was roused, to support the existing Government, and to resent the action of the Peers. At last it was proposed to establish a National Political Union, which was to have its head-quarters in London, and the object of which was to be to concentrate the

Sydney Smith, the witty Canon of St. Paul's, who was also Rector of Coombe-Florey, in the Vale of Taunton, delivered the celebrated speech in which he compared the efforts of the House of Lords to resist the rising tide of democracy to the ludicrous endeavour of Mrs. Partington to sweep back the waves of the Atlantic from her door. "The speech," we are told by one who heard it, "was delivered in a clear and musical voice, and with all the fluency and grace of an accomplished orator; and as he recounted the adventures of the excellent dame, suiting the action to the word, trundling his imaginary mop, and sweeping back the intrusive waves of the Atlantic with an air of resolute determination and an appearance of increasing temper, the house rose, the people cheered, and tears of superabundant laughter trickled down the cheeks alike of fair women and veteran Reformers." ("The Life and Times of the Rev. Sydney Smith," by Stuart J. Reid; p. 801.) The following is the famous passage, with which the speech closed:—"As for the possibility of the House of Lords preventing ere long a Reform of Parliament, I hold it to be the most absurd notion that ever entered into human imagination. I do not mean to be disrespectful, but the attempt of the Lords to stop the progress of Reform reminds me very forcibly of the great storm of Sidmouth, and of the conduct of the excellent Mrs. Partington on that occasion. In the winter of 1824 there set in a great flood upon that town, the tide rose to an incredible height, the waves rushed in upon the houses, and everything was threatened with

scattered forces of the Reformers all over the country; but so much uneasiness was felt by even many Liberals at the proceedings, and so much alarm was manifested by the King, that, on the second of November, Ministers were induced to issue a proclamation declaring such associations illegal.\*

CHAP. II.  
1831.

In the meantime, on the twentieth of October, Parliament had been prorogued to the twenty-second of November. It did not re-assemble, however, till the sixth of December; and it was not till a week later (the twelfth of December) that the third Reform Bill

The re-assembling of Parliament, and the introduction of the third Reform Bill.

destruction. In the midst of this sublime and terrible storm, Dame Partington, who lived upon the beach, was seen at the door of her house, with mop and pattens, trundling her mop, squeezing out the sea-water, and vigorously pushing away the Atlantic Ocean. The Atlantic was roused; Mrs. Partington's spirit was up; but I need not tell you that the contest was unequal. The Atlantic Ocean beat Mrs. Partington. She was excellent at a slop or a puddle, but she should not have meddled with a tempest. Gentlemen, be at your ease—be quiet and steady—you will beat—Mrs. Partington!"

\* "The proclamation did little good. The National Political Union declared that it did not come within the words of the proclamation. The Birmingham Political Union continued its proceedings. The English proved, as the Irish had shown four years before, that no Ministerial measures are capable of defeating the organisation of a determined people."—"A History of England from 1815," by Spencer Walpole; vol. ii. p. 659.

The Proclamation.

CHAP. II.

1831.

was introduced. The bill was the same bill as the last essentially, though certain modifications in detail were made, chiefly as the result of the completion of a new census. Thus, five or six boroughs which had been in Schedule A of the former bill were now placed in Schedule B. Six boroughs which were formerly in Schedule B were transferred to Schedule A. Before, it was proposed to diminish considerably the number of members, but it was now decided to adhere to the existing number, an additional member being given to several of the large towns; and the rights of freemen, which it was formerly proposed to terminate with the life of the existing possessors of the right, it was now proposed to preserve intact, except in the case of non-resident freemen (that is, freemen who resided seven or more miles from the city or borough in which their right accrued). These were the principal changes in the bill, which was again introduced by Lord John Russell, and which was allowed to be read a first time without formal opposition. Early in the morning of Sunday, the eighteenth of the month, it was read a second time, after three nights' debate, by a majority of 324 to 162, or exactly two to one. Immediately after the division, the House adjourned for the

The Second  
Reading of the  
Bill.

Christmas holidays, not to meet again till the seventeenth of January.\* On the twentieth of that month the bill got into Committee, where it was detained till the fourteenth of March. On the twenty-third of March, after three more nights' debate,† it was read a third time by a majority of one hundred and sixteen (355 to 239); and immediately afterwards the bill was passed.

CHAP. II.

1831-32.

The Bill passed.

And now the question once more arose, "What will the Lords do?" Or rather, it took another form, "What must be done with the Lords?" In the minds of Ministers themselves, the question took yet another form, or, more

"What must be done with the Lords?"

\* During the recess, legal proceedings were instituted for the punishment of the rioters at Bristol and Nottingham in the previous October. A Special Commission commenced its sittings at Bristol on the second of January, and did not close them till the fourteenth. By this Commission twenty-one persons were capitally convicted, and four were subsequently hanged. At Nottingham, where another Commission sat, nine persons were convicted, and three were hanged.

The Riots at Bristol, Nottingham, etc.

† On this occasion, Lord Mahon moved "that the bill be read a third time that day six months." During the debate, Sir Robert Harry Inglis, member for the University of Oxford, took the opportunity of correcting an impression which had gone forth that the Nabob of Arcot had his *eight* members in the House, whereas, said the hon. baronet, he had only *four*!

## CHAP. II.

1832.

"And with  
the King?"

properly, another and a different question was raised, "What is to be done with the King?" For it was well understood that, if the Lords proved incorrigible, there were means of bringing them to reason. That is, there were such means if the King remained faithful. But the Ministry knew, as no one else knew at the time, that the King had changed his mind. He had come to the throne as a reforming sovereign. At least, this was the popular belief. Hence, partly, the rejoicing with which his accession was welcomed, and the enthusiasm with which, at the early meetings of the Reformers, his name was invariably received. Whatever his attitude toward the question at that time, he was now no longer to be relied on. So far back as the previous April, he had been restive in regard to Reform. Then, as has been already mentioned, he had been induced with difficulty to consent to a dissolution. A very few days later he sent a strong representation to Earl Grey, urging the expediency of delay. He described the measure as a "perilous experiment." He was very angry at the rejoicings which followed the dissolution; still more at the excitement which attended the elections; still more, says Lord Brougham, when "he saw that we were having a very great majority,

which no King ever likes.”\* Then, the riots of the previous October, and especially the Bristol riots, had caused him very serious alarm. It became more and more certain that he was holding consultation with other persons besides his constitutional advisers. It began to be known, too—or at any rate rumoured—that the Queen and the other women in the royal household were using all their influence against the Ministry. At the great public meetings it became by no means uncommon to hear a cry for “Three groans for the Queen.” Mr. O’Connell, addressing a great multitude of persons at Charing Cross about this time, pointed with his outstretched hand in the direction of Whitehall, and reminded his audience that a King had once lost his head there. Why had this doom come upon him? “It was,” said the orator, in his sternest tone, “because he suffered himself to be dictated to by a foreign wife!”

CHAP. II.

1832.

The Queen.

It is needless to say that all this uncertainty about the King added immensely to the anxiety of the Ministry. If the Lords were still obstinate, there remained but two alternatives,—there must be a great creation of peers for the purpose of passing the bill, or the bill must be lost. But

The anxiety of the Ministry.

\* “The Life and Times of Henry Lord Brougham.”  
Written by himself. Vol. iii. p. 122.



## CHAP. II.

1832.

it was not intended that the bill should be lost, and the King had more than once avowed—though he vacillated again and again—that he would not create peers.\* If both King and Peers proved obstinate, what would happen next?

Second Reading  
of the Bill  
in the Lords.

The bill, which, as has been stated, had passed the House of Commons on the twenty-third of March, was taken up to the House of Lords at once, and its second reading was fixed for the ninth of April. On that day, Earl Grey moved the second reading “in a speech of extreme moderation.” † He was followed by the Earl of Ellenborough, who moved, as an amendment, that the bill should be read a second time “on that day six months;” and in the subsequent debate, which lasted for four nights, both the Duke of Wellington and Lord Lyndhurst (who were incomparably the men of greatest weight with their party) declared themselves as hostile to the bill as ever, while the Bishop of Exeter, Dr. Phillpotts (who was by far the most eloquent of the bishops), delivered a speech which was remarkable, not only for its eloquence, but for its bitter denunciation of both the bill and its sup-

\* “Correspondence of Earl Grey and William IV.”

† “The Greville Memoirs,” vol ii. p. 286.

porters.\* Several other peers—among them the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Eldon—spoke in the same strain.

CHAP. II.

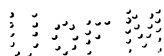
1832.

But there were certain peers of eminence, called at the time "the Waverers," who recommended a different course. Among these were the Earl of Wharnccliffe and the Earl of Harrowby. These noblemen had been negotiating for some time with a view to such a modification of the measure as might enable them to give it a qualified support; and, though their attempts at a compromise had been unsuccessful, they were not without hope that, if the bill were allowed a second reading, it might be amended, in the sense they desired, in Committee. At any rate, they were of opinion that, if the second reading were conceded, the King's objection to a creation of peers at a subsequent stage would be found, or could be easily rendered, insuperable; and, under all circumstances, they reserved to themselves the right to deal with the measure as

"The  
Waverers."

\* "Phillpotts, the Bishop of Exeter, made a grand speech against the bill, full of fire and venom, very able. It would be an injury to compare this man with Laud; he more resembles Gardiner; had he lived in those days, he would have been just such another, boiling with ambition, an ardent temperament, and great talents. He has a desperate and a dreadful countenance, and looks like the man he is."—"The Greville Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 287.

Dr. Phillpotts,  
Bishop of  
Exeter.



## CHAP. II.

1832.

they pleased, when it reached a later or even its final stage. To suppose that these men were more favourable to Reform than the rest of the Tory peers, would be to misunderstand their position; and they proved it by their subsequent action. But they were numerous enough to secure the result they immediately desired, namely, the second reading of the bill without an addition to the peerage; and, when the division was taken, at seven o'clock in the morning of the fourteenth of April, it was found that seventeen peers who had voted against the bill of 1831 voted for that of 1832, while ten who had voted against the former now absented themselves, and twelve others who had been absent on the last occasion now supported the measure. These defections from the ranks of the Opposition were sufficient for the purpose in view. The bill of 1831 had been lost by a majority of forty-one; the bill of 1832 was carried through the present stage by a majority of nine. The numbers (including proxies) were—For the second reading, 184; against, 175. As the Easter recess was now immediately at hand, the consideration of the bill in Committee was postponed for three weeks.

A majority of  
nine.

Renewed ex-  
citement in  
the country.

The period of recess was an anxious period for Ministers, and one of renewed excitement

RENEWED  
EXCITEMENT  
IN THE  
COUNTRY

in the country. The people rejoiced, although with trembling, at the carrying, by even so small a majority, of the second reading of the bill; the Government knew only too well that their difficulties, far from being over, were but for a short time postponed. For it was certain that many of the peers who had voted for the second reading of the bill, would, having gained their immediate object, unite with the rest of their Tory colleagues to modify or rather to mutilate it in Committee. This would not have been permitted by the country even if Ministers had yielded. "The Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill," was still the cry on every lip. Perhaps it would have been better — it would certainly have saved trouble — if Ministers, knowing what was sure to happen, had insisted upon a creation of peers at once. When they made the demand at a later period, their position was not so strong as it was at this moment.

CHAP. II.  
1832.

The question  
of a creation  
of peers.

However, on the seventh of May, the Lords went into Committee on the bill. At the outset, in order to conciliate the Tory Opposition, Earl Grey announced his willingness to omit from the first clause the words "fifty-six" (the number of boroughs it was proposed to disfranchise), in order to leave the House entirely free and un-

The Bill in  
Committee.

CHAP. II.

1832.

The Ministry  
defeated.

embarrassed when it came to discuss the boroughs in detail. He was willing to make a similar omission in the second clause (which stated the number of boroughs it was proposed to disfranchise partially). But these concessions did not satisfy the Peers. Lord Lyndhurst immediately proposed that the consideration of the first and second clauses should be altogether postponed, until the enfranchising clauses had been disposed of. This proposal was supported by "the Waverers." Lord Grey, with the concurrence of his colleagues, declined to accept it; and when it was actually carried by a majority of thirty-five (151 to 116), they at once intimated that they should proceed no further in Committee, until they had had time for consideration. Next day, the Cabinet met. They decided unanimously that they must now call upon the King to create peers, and that, if he refused, they must resign office. The same afternoon, Earl Grey and Lord Brougham went down to Windsor, and laid the case before the King. But their opportunity was gone by. It had been doubtful—at any rate, until almost the last moment—whether the King would have consented to make peers, even when the whole question of the bill was involved: to ask him to do so now, on what he deemed to be a mere

question of procedure, he held to be altogether unreasonable. On the following day, Earl Grey announced in the Lords, and Lord Althorp in the Commons, that the Reform Ministry was at an end.

CHAP. II.  
1832.

Thus, again, but for the last time, the question of Reform was relegated to the country. It was a season never to be forgotten. Old men speak of it, even yet, as altogether without a parallel in their experience. For the next nine or ten days, all business was practically suspended. A "run" upon the Bank of England was commenced.\* "Wherever the King's head was hung out on a signboard, it was covered with crape, while the Queen's was daubed with black paint or lamp-black." There were serious discussions of barricades and street-fighting. The anti-Reform newspapers spoke of the army. The Reform newspapers, including the leading daily journals of London, spoke of resistance to the army; and "constitutional lawyers, of the highest eminence, were reported to have spoken at public meetings, within four hundred yards of the palace, of kings having

Agitation once  
more.

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\* It was stated at the time that, during three days, upwards of a million and a-half sterling was paid in gold at the Bank, a large portion of the amount in sums of from twenty to one hundred pounds.

## CHAP. II.

1832.

Lord Ebrington's resolutions.

trusted in armies against their people, and of the royal heads rolling in the dust before night ! ”\*

Before matters had reached quite this pass, however, more constitutional measures had been resorted to. On the tenth of May, in the House of Commons, Lord Ebrington moved a series of resolutions, expressing confidence in the Ministry, and an unabated desire for the passing of the bill. These resolutions were carried by a majority of eighty (288 to 208). The Common Council of the City of London went much farther. On the same day on which Lord Ebrington's resolutions were passed, they resolved, that “they who have advised his Majesty to put a negative on the proposal of Ministers to create peers have proved themselves enemies of the sovereign, and have put in imminent hazard the stability of the throne and the tranquillity and security of the country.” They also petitioned the House of Commons to refuse supplies until Reform should have been granted. Similar re-

Alexander Somerville.

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\* “Autobiography of a Working Man,” by Alexander Somerville (“One who has whistled at the plough”), p. 243. As we write these lines, we read with sorrow the following, in one of the daily papers :—“Alexander Somerville, widely known by his *nom de plume*, ‘One who has whistled at the plough,’ a Scotch political writer of great power in the Corn Law and Free Trade agitation period, has died miserably in a shed on one of the streets of Toronto, at the age of seventy-four years.”

solutions were passed, subsequently, in all the great towns. At Birmingham, at a gathering not only of the town but of the county, which was said to have been attended by two hundred thousand persons, it was resolved that no more taxes should be paid until the bill had been passed;\* Lord Milton (the son of Earl Fitzwilliam),

CHAP. II.

1832.

"No more  
payment of  
taxes."

\* At this meeting, and at many of the other Reform meetings about this time, what was called "The Reform Hymn" was sung by the assembled multitude. It is worth while to preserve it.

The Reform  
Hymn.

"THE GATHERING OF THE UNIONS.

"Lo! we answer! see, we come!

Quick at Freedom's holy call;

We come! we come! we come! we come!

To do the glorious work of all;

And hark! we raise from sea to sea,

The sacred watchword, Liberty.

"God is our guide! from field, from wave,

From plough, from anvil, and from loom,

We come, our country's rights to save,

And speak a tyrant faction's doom:

And hark! we raise from sea to sea,

The sacred watchword, Liberty.

"God is our guide! no swords we draw;

We kindle not war's battle fires;

By union, justice, reason, law,

We claim the birthright of our sires:

We raise the watchword, Liberty,

We will, we will, we will be free!"

After the singing of this hymn, at Birmingham, the whole audience, at the call of one of the speakers, repeated in a loud voice, and with uncovered heads, the following words after him:—"WITH UNBROKEN FAITH, THROUGH EVERY PERIL AND PRIVATION, WE HERE DEVOTE OURSELVES AND OUR CHILDREN TO OUR COUNTRY'S CAUSE."



## CHAP. II.

1832.

The swords of  
the Scots  
Greys to be  
"rough-  
sharpened."

who represented the neighbouring county of Northampton, openly avowed, amidst the cheers of the House of Commons, that he had "requested the tax-gatherer to call again;" and it was gravely proposed to march the whole two hundred thousand Warwickshire men upon London, to encamp them on Hampstead and on Penenden Heath, and to keep them there till the bill was carried. Then, the military were ordered by the authorities to be in readiness. The swords of the Scots Greys, in the Birmingham barracks, were directed to be "rough-sharpened." Not since before the Battle of Waterloo had the swords of the Greys undergone the same process. The purpose of rough-sharpening was "to make them inflict a ragged wound."\* But the swords of the Greys were not needed, and it is more than doubtful if they would have been ready had they been called for. They were not needed. The position was described exactly by the Rev. Sydney Smith, in a second speech on Reform which he delivered at Taunton about this time:—"One word before we part for an old and excellent friend of ours—I mean Dame Partington. It is impossible not to admire spirited conduct, even in a bad cause; and I am sure Dame Partington

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\* Somerville.

has fought a much longer and better fight than I had any expectation that she would fight. Many a mop has she worn out, and many a bucket has she broken, in her contest with the waves. I wish that her spirit had been more wisely employed, for the waves must have their way at last; but I have no doubt that I shall see her, some time hence, in dry clothes, pursuing her useful and honourable avocations, and retaining nothing but a good-humoured recollection of her stiff and spirited battle with the Atlantic."

CHAP. II.  
1832.

It is difficult not to express sympathy with the poor old King in the circumstances in which he was now placed. The Reform Ministry had been dismissed, or rather, to speak more accurately, their resignation had been accepted. In accepting their resignation, the King had acted very much under the influence of the Queen and of the other women about him, who, as has been already stated, were dead against Reform. It was mentioned at the time, in a morning newspaper, that, when Earl Grey and Lord Brougham waited upon him at Windsor, "he wept, and lamented that he must sacrifice his Ministers to his wife, his sisters, and his children." But if by sacrificing his Ministers he made peace in his palace, it was at the cost of being hooted,

The King  
again.

CHAP. II.

1832.

and even pelted, in the streets. All his popularity was gone. The most offensive language was used respecting him. Both he and his family were grossly lampooned, and the most disgusting caricatures of them were plastered on the walls of the houses within sight of his very doors. If he was not actually mad, as Charles Greville says he was,\* the circumstances in which he was placed were quite sufficient to make him so.

The King's  
government  
must be  
carried on.

Sir Robert  
Peel asked to  
form a  
Government  
and declines.

Meantime, whatever was going on out of doors, the King's government must be carried on. As Lord Lyndhurst had moved the resolution which overturned the Ministry, it was proper that he should be first sent for. He recommended that the Duke of Wellington should be consulted, and the Duke advised that the task of forming an Administration should be entrusted to Sir Robert Peel. But Sir Robert Peel would have nothing to do with it. He had too vivid a recollection of the consequences of his tergiversation on the Catholic question to be willing to change his attitude with reference to Reform; and he knew very well that if he accepted office, without being prepared to "swallow" the bill, any Administration that he might get together would not last a week. There was

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\* "The Greville Memoirs," vol. ii. pp. 301, 302.

nothing for it, therefore, but for the Duke of Wellington to undertake the duty. He tried, and failed. He had shown his courage on many a battle field, and he was now willing to sacrifice everything—even his consistency—in order to save the King the humiliation, as he deemed it, of having to yield to the demands of the Reform Ministry. But no amount of courage, and no possible self-sacrifice, could have sufficed for this emergency. A Tory Ministry was out of the question, whoever might have been at its head.\* Accordingly, there was no alternative but for Earl Grey and his colleagues to be requested by the King to return to their offices, from which, indeed, they had never formally retired. On the

CHAP. II.

1832.

The Duke of Wellington attempts to form a Government and fails.

Earl Grey again sent for.

\* Probably even the Duke himself had no idea of the difficulties he would have had to encounter if he had persisted in his attempt to form an Administration. "When the Duke," says William Lovett, "was called to the Ministry, with the object, it was believed, of silencing the Political Unions, and putting down the Reform agitation, an arrangement was entered into between some leading Reformers in the North and Midland counties and those of London, for seizing the wives and children of the aristocracy, and carrying them as hostages into the North until the bill was passed. My informant, Mr. Francis Place, told me that a thousand pounds was placed in his hands in furtherance of the plan, and for hiring carriages and other conveyances, a sufficient number of volunteers having prepared matters and held themselves in readiness."—"Life and Struggles of William Lovett," p. 218.

The Plot.

CHAP. II.

1832.

His interview  
(and Lord  
Brougham's)  
with the King.

eighteenth of May they waited again upon the King. The following account of the interview is from the pen of Lord Brougham :—

“ Lord Grey and I,” he says, “ went to the King. It was one of the most painful hours I ever passed in my life, because the King evidently suffered much, and yet behaved with the greatest courtesy to us. It was, however, the only audience I ever had in which he kept his seat, and did not desire us to sit down. After we had urged the matter in the strongest language it was possible to employ, he said, ‘ Well, now it must be so, and I consent.’ We were then about to take our leave, when I said that I hoped his Majesty would not be offended if I ventured to make an additional request. ‘ What ! ’ he said, ‘ are you not satisfied ? Have I not done enough ? ’ I said, quite the reverse of being dissatisfied ; and we must ever feel deeply grateful for his great kindness in agreeing to follow our advice. ‘ Then what is it,’ he said, ‘ that I am to do more than I have done ? ’ I said, ‘ Your Majesty must consider that this is a most delicate position in which we, your servants, are placed ; and it would be most satisfactory to us, and would greatly relieve our minds, if you would graciously consent to give us your promise in writing.’ He was a little, and but a

little, angry at this, and said, 'Do you doubt my word?' We both said, certainly nothing of the kind; but it would be more satisfactory for both his Majesty and us if he would add this to his other great kindness. The King then said he would comply with the request, and send me a few lines to-morrow morning. The same evening the King wrote in reply to the minute left with him by Lord Grey and myself, that he authorised a creation of peers to such an extent as would enable Lord Grey to carry the bill, avoiding, as far as possible, any permanent addition to the peerage, by 'comprehending as large a proportion of the eldest sons of peers, and heirs of childless peers, as could be made available, and, in the words of the Chancellor, exhausting the list of eldest sons and collaterals before resorting to any which should entail a permanent addition to the peerage.'"

CHAP. II.

1832.

The difficulty with the King having been thus adjusted, it only remained for the Ministry to challenge the decision of the Peers, which they proposed to do in Committee on the following Monday (May 21st). But four days before—the day before the interview of Earl Grey and Lord Brougham with the King, although the King did not inform them of the fact—Sir Herbert Taylor (the King's private secretary)

The King's  
communica-  
tion with the  
Opposition  
Peers.

## CHAP. II.

1832.

Its result.

The Bill  
passed by the  
Lords.The Duke's  
last words  
about Reform.

had taken what would now be deemed the extraordinary course of addressing a circular to the Opposition Peers, informing them that it was the King's wish that they should withdraw their opposition to the bill; and Sir Herbert now took it upon himself to convey an intimation to them of the interview between the two Ministers and the King, and of the result of that interview. From this moment all expectation of success on the part of the Opposition ceased. The Duke of Wellington, after a further protest,\* withdrew from the House, and did not make his appearance again till after the bill had received the royal assent. About one hundred other peers followed his example. Henceforth, there was no difficulty. In six nights the bill passed through Committee; and two or three days later it was read a third time and passed,—106 peers voting for the bill in the final division, and only 22 against it. On Tuesday, the fifth of June, the slight amendments introduced by the Peers

\* The following were the Duke's last words about Reform, with which he concluded his speech. "Reform, my lords," he said, "has triumphed; the barriers of the Constitution are broken down; the waters of destruction have burst the gates of the temple; and the tempest begins to howl. Who can say where its course shall stop? Who can stay its speed? For my own part, I earnestly hope that my predictions may not be fulfilled, and that my country may not be ruined by the measure which the noble earl and his colleagues have sanctioned."

were agreed to, after some angry discussion,\* by the House of Commons ; and on Thursday, the seventh, the royal assent was given to the bill by commission. † Earl Grey and Lord Brougham tried hard to get the King to give his assent in person, but this the old man steadfastly refused to do. If he had done so, he might have got back some of his popularity. But this was not to be. When, five years later, he dropped into his grave, it is to be hoped that his family regretted him, for no one else did. His Queen, Adelaide, whom he had married in 1818, survived him till 1849. But, though she is said to have possessed many virtues, and to have been in later life a liberal benefactor to the poor, it was never quite forgotten that she had been one of the chief obstructives—so far as any single individual could be an obstructive—to the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832. ‡

CHAP. II.

1832.

The royal  
assent.

\* It was in the course of this discussion that Lord John Russell made the celebrated declaration which led to his being called afterwards, but unjustly, "Finality John." His words were these : "I think that, so far as Ministers are concerned, this is a final measure." Evidently, he meant only the present Ministers and the present Ministry ; at any rate, this was his own interpretation of the words when they were subsequently challenged.

† The Scotch and Irish Bills received the royal assent subsequently—the former on the seventeenth of July, and the latter on the seventh of August.

‡ An abstract of the Act, with the various Schedules, will be found in the Appendix.



### III.

#### *RESULTS OF THE FIRST REFORM ACT IN GENERAL LEGISLATION.*

CHAP. III.

1832.

Popular  
enthusiasm.

It is somewhat difficult, at this time, to understand the enthusiasm which attended the passing of the Reform Act of 1832. It added to the electoral body only about half-a-million persons—a number not much exceeding the present population of more than one of the boroughs which it enfranchised. Besides, though the labouring class had done so much to pass the measure, they derived no direct advantage from it; and there were certain boroughs in the North—such as Preston, in Lancashire—where their privileges, instead of being increased, were diminished. In fact, the Reform Act of 1832 was essentially a middle-class measure. Very few of the labouring class were to be counted among the ten pound householders. Accordingly, they were still “shut out of the pale of the Constitution,” and their citizenship consisted mainly in the payment of taxes, and

in obedience to laws which they had no voice in framing.

CHAP. III.

1832.

And yet the instinct had not been a mistaken one which induced them to join in the demand for Reform. Two changes followed immediately in which they also were interested, and of which they could not fail to share the advantage. One of these was the abridgment of the power of the Crown; the other, the curtailment of the privileges of the aristocracy.

The enthusiasm justified.

Before the passing of the Reform Act, the King not only reigned, but ruled. His Ministers were, literally, his "servants." No Minister dared to introduce a measure without the sovereign's approval, or without first obtaining his concurrence. We all know how legislation was hindered for years, and the country brought to the very verge of revolution, by the obstinacy of George III. The Reform Act made all this henceforth impossible. From this time the King governed only through his Ministers, and the Ministers were dependent on the support of Parliament, who in their turn were dependent on the support of the electors. In the last instance, therefore, the electors ruled.

Abridgment of the power of the Crown.

But the same influences which limited the power of the Crown curtailed also the privileges of the aristocracy. The aristocracy are

And of the privileges of the aristocracy.

## CHAP. III.

1832.

represented in the House of Lords. Before 1832, the Lords (after the King) were supreme; since 1832, the Commons have been supreme. Hence, all measures of the first importance are now, as a rule, introduced, not in the House of Lords, but in the House of Commons. Hence, too, while Ministers invariably resign on a vote of want of confidence in the House of Commons, they never resign because of such a vote in the House of Lords. No doubt, the Upper House can still reject the measures of the Lower House, and they have not unfrequently exercised their right; but they never do so except on the ground that (on the particular question) the Lower House does not represent the country, or without being under the impression that the country is indifferent or apathetic, and in every case an appeal to the country at a General Election is final.

Thus, in two very important particulars, the whole people, including the still unrepresented classes, were gainers by the Act of 1832. When it is added that, the doors of Parliament having been thrown open to the middle-class, the admission of other classes became a question of time only, nothing more is needed to justify the popular enthusiasm, and the belief, then all but universal, that a new era had commenced

in the history of the country, and a brighter day dawned for all conditions of the people.

CHAP. III.

1832.

A still more convincing proof that the Reformers were right, however, is to be found in the legislation that followed upon Reform ; and it is to a brief summary of that legislation that attention is now to be directed. The very character of the legislation itself will show that it could not have been accomplished without Reform. The history of an unreformed House of Commons could never have been such a history as that which is now to be epitomised.

The legislation consequent on Reform.

The Parliament which passed the Reform Act of 1832 was prorogued on the sixteenth of August, and was dissolved on the third of December. A General Election followed immediately ; and it was found that the provisions of the new law, which increased the number of polling-places, and under which no poll could last more than two days, contributed immensely to the preservation of order. But it was found also that the Administration which had carried Reform was much stronger in the Reformed House than it had been previously. It was now one of the strongest Administrations that had ever existed in England. The House itself had changed. Many old faces had disappeared, and many new ones were seen for the first

The first Reformed Parliament.

## CHAP. III.

1833.

time. Among those who had disappeared were Sir Charles Wetherell, who was defeated at Oxford, and Mr. J. W. Croker, who declared that he would never sit in a Reformed Parliament. Among those who were seen for the first time was the new member for Newark, William Ewart Gladstone.

The session  
of 1833.

The first session of the new Parliament was opened by the King in person on the fifth of February, 1833. Its very first act was significant. It admitted Mr. Joseph Pease, a member of the Society of Friends, who had been returned by the Southern Division of the County of Durham, to take his seat on affirmation, instead of with the usual oath. A great part of the session was devoted to Irish affairs, but time was found for many other matters. Lord Ashley (afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury) succeeded in passing his first Factory Act.\* An Act was passed to terminate, in the following year, the trading monopoly of the East India Company. The

The first  
Factory Act.

\* Under this Act, no woman, and no person under eighteen years of age, was to be permitted to work for more than twelve hours in the day; no person under thirteen years of age was to be permitted to work for more than eight hours; children under nine were not to be employed at all; provision was made for the instruction of the children in schools during certain specified hours; and, for the first time, Factory Inspectors were appointed.

Bank of England was reconstituted. A general Act was passed, suggested by the case of Mr. Pease, enabling Quakers, Moravians, and Separatists to make affirmation in lieu of oath in all cases. More than all—and most redounding to the credit of the Reformed Parliament—the long agitated question of colonial slavery was settled; and the heart of the dying Wilberforce was cheered by the introduction of a bill (which became law on the twenty-eighth of August) providing for the extinction of the slave system, and at the same time appropriating the sum of twenty millions sterling as compensation to the slaveowners.\*

CHAP. III.  
1833–34.

Abolition of  
Slavery.

If the session of 1834 was distinguished by no measure of such transcendent consequence as the one just mentioned, its contributions to the cause of progress and humanity were far from

The session  
of 1834.

\* Mr. Wilberforce lived only long enough to hear of the second reading of the bill, which was carried three days before his death. The Act took effect on the first of August, 1834, and emancipated no fewer than from seven to eight hundred thousand slaves. It provided, however, that the slaves should serve their former owners, as “apprentices,” for a period of seven years; but the system proved so unworkable, and was attended by so many abuses, that its termination was ordered by the Jamaica Assembly itself (without any further interference on the part of the Imperial Parliament), from the first of August, 1838.

The Emanci-  
pation Act.

## CHAP. III.

1834.

New Poor  
Law.Change of  
Ministry.

unimportant. In this session, an Act was passed to abolish the barbarous practice of dissecting or hanging in chains the bodies of persons executed for the crime of murder. Capital punishment in the case of persons returning from transportation was abolished. Steps were taken to ameliorate the condition of boys apprenticed to chimney-sweepers, and no boy under ten years of age was allowed thenceforth to be so apprenticed. The Acts relating to Friendly Societies were consolidated and amended. The first step towards the establishment of a national system of education was taken, by the grant of a sum of twenty thousand a year, to be dispensed through the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society. The Stamp-duty upon Almanacs (fifteen-pence per copy) was repealed. Finally, a new Poor Law was passed, for the institution of parish-unions and union-workhouses, with the effect of greatly reducing the cost of Poor Law relief, while at the same time the relief itself was more equitably and efficiently administered.\*

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\* During this session, on the eighteenth of July, Earl Grey resigned office, and was succeeded by Lord Melbourne. On the twenty-sixth of December, Lord Melbourne retired, and was succeeded by Sir Robert Peel, in whose Administration the name of Mr. W. E. Gladstone appears for the first time, as Under-Secretary for the Colonies.

The session of 1835 was noted chiefly for the passing of the Municipal Reform Act. This measure (like the measure for Parliamentary Reform) was introduced by Lord John Russell, who was now Home Secretary. It applied to one hundred and eighty-three boroughs of England and Wales, in all of which the administration was as corrupt as it could be. Most of the Corporations were practically self-elected. They spent the public money just as they pleased. A large portion of their revenues was lavished on entertainments for themselves and their friends, which were often of the most extravagant description. All their proceedings were conducted in secret, and they were consequently unchecked by public opinion. Lord John Russell's measure for the Reform of these Corporations—which was only less important than his Parliamentary Reform measure—was carried, after a great conflict with the Peers, on the seventh of September. Another Act passed during this session repealed the provision of the Reform Act which allowed the polls at Parliamentary Elections to extend over two days, and limited them to one day.

CHAP. III.

1835.

The session  
of 1835.Municipal  
Reform.

On the eighteenth of April in the following year, Lord Melbourne resumed office, which he held till the sixth of September, 1841.



## CHAP. III.

1836-37.

The sessions of  
1836 and 1837.Amelioration  
of the Criminal  
Law.

We pass on to the years 1836 and 1837. In the former of these years, an Act providing for the commutation of tithes in England was passed ; and another Act was passed enabling Nonconformists to be married either in their own places of worship, which had not been permitted since 1753, or before a Registrar appointed under the Act. The newspaper stamp-duty was reduced from fourpence to one penny per copy. The duty on paper, which formerly stood at from twenty-five to two hundred per cent. of the value, was now fixed at a uniform rate of three-halfpence per lb. For the first time prisoners on trial for felony were allowed the benefit of counsel to address the jury on their behalf ; and a change was made in the law which required that persons convicted of murder should be executed the next day but one after conviction, unless that day happened to be a Sunday. In 1837, the criminal law was still further ameliorated. The punishment of the pillory, which had been discontinued, except for perjury, since 1815, was now totally abolished ; and the large number of offences for which capital punishment was enacted was very greatly reduced. \*

Capital  
offences.

\* " Our law recognised two hundred and twenty-three capital offences. It seems, at first, that there can scarcely be two hundred and twenty-three human actions worthy

Five years had now passed away since the Reform Act of 1832 was carried. The legislation during that period may be regarded as the direct and almost immediate result of Reform. Much of the legislation that followed would never have been effected, if Reform had not been carried; but it cannot be claimed that it was the direct result of Reform, and it certainly was not the immediate result. It will, therefore, be sufficient, for the accomplishment of the present purpose, to do little more than tabulate the measures that were subsequently carried, before, thirty

CHAP. III.

1837.

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of even the mildest censure. But our stern fathers found that number worthy of death. If a man injured Westminster Bridge, he was hanged. If he appeared disguised on a public road, he was hanged. If he cut down young trees, if he shot at rabbits, if he stole property valued at five shillings, if he stole anything at all from a bleach-field, if he wrote a threatening letter to extort money, if he returned prematurely from transportation—for any of these offences he was immediately hanged. In 1816, there were, at one time, fifty-eight persons under sentence of death. One of these was a child ten years of age.” —“The Nineteenth Century,” by Robert Mackenzie, pp. 77, 78.—In one of his speeches in the House of Commons (May 23, 1821), Sir T. Fowell Buxton said: “Kill your father, or a rabbit in a warren, the penalty is the same; destroy three kingdoms, or a hop-vine, the penalty is the same; meet a gipsy on the high road, keep company with him, or kill him, the penalty by law is the same.”

## CHAP. III.

1837-39.

The first five  
years of  
Reform.

years later, a further Reform was found necessary, in order to stimulate to further progress.

We ought not to turn away from the record of this wonderful five years, however, without noting once more the character of its legislation, nor without paying our tribute of respectful gratitude to the men by whom that legislation was effected. It may be questioned whether the history of the world contains anywhere a similar record. True, the Reformed Parliament of 1832-37 did little more than remedy injustices which unreformed Parliaments had caused, or which they had permitted. But this was sufficient to tax all its energies. It was sufficient to earn for it undying gratitude. And of all the illustrious names which are inscribed in the history of this era, the most illustrious, and the one most deserving of being remembered with grateful affection by his countrymen, is that of LORD JOHN RUSSELL.

The period that remains to be noticed in this chapter extends over nearly thirty years. It is necessary to compress the notice of it into half-a-dozen pages.

1838. In 1838, an Irish Poor Law was passed; also, an Act for the commutation of tithes in Ireland, similar to that passed in 1836 for England.

1839. In 1839, Mr. (afterwards Sir Rowland) Hill's

Penny Postage scheme was adopted; and the grant of twenty thousand a year for education was increased to thirty thousand a year. This grant was henceforth administered by a Committee of the Privy Council.\* Owing to the determined opposition of the Tories and the supporters of the Established Church, who cried out that the Church was in danger, the Act which gave effect to these changes, and of which Lord John Russell was the author, was carried by a majority of *two* only.

CHAP. III.

1839-42.

In 1840, a Municipal Act for Ireland was passed, after six years' controversy with the Lords. In the same year, impressment for the navy (the press-gang) was abolished; and chimney-sweeping by climbing boys and girls was suppressed.

In 1841, the offences for which capital punishment could be inflicted were further reduced in number—rape, embezzlement, and riot being no longer punishable with death.

1841.

In 1842, Sir Robert Peel † proposed and

1842.

\* The grant was increased year by year, till, in 1869, the year before the Elementary Education Act was passed, it amounted to upwards of seven hundred and seventy thousand pounds. The Education grant.

† Sir Robert Peel had become Prime Minister, in succession to Lord Melbourne, on the sixth of September, 1841. Change in the Ministry.

## CHAP. III.

1842.

carried a revision of the customs' tariff, and the repeal or abatement of about seven hundred and fifty duties. \* In the same year, Lord Ashley (afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury) succeeded in passing a bill, founded on the Report of a Commission of Inquiry, to prevent the

## Taxation.

\* At this time, the articles subject to taxation were not fewer than twelve hundred in number. The state of things was aptly described by the Rev. Sydney Smith, in a passage that has been often quoted. "We can inform Jonathan," he said, "what are the inevitable consequences of being too fond of glory:—TAXES upon every article which enters into the mouth, or covers the back, or is placed under the foot—taxes upon everything which it is pleasant to see, hear, feel, smell, or taste—taxes upon warmth, light, and locomotion—taxes on everything on earth, and the waters under the earth—on everything that comes from abroad, or is grown at home—taxes on the raw material—taxes on every fresh value that is given to it by the industry of man—taxes on the sauce which pampers man's appetite, and the drug that restores him to health—on the ermine which decorates the judge, and the rope which hangs the criminal—on the poor man's salt, and the rich man's spice—on the brass nails of the coffin, and the ribands of the bride—at bed or board, couchant or levant, he must *pay*. The schoolboy whips his taxed top—the beardless youth manages his taxed horse, with a taxed bridle, on a taxed road—and the dying Englishman, pouring his medicine, which has paid seven per cent., into a spoon that has paid fifteen per cent., flings himself back upon his chintz bed which has paid twenty-two per cent., and expires in the arms of an apothecary who has paid a licence of a hundred pounds for the privilege of putting him to death. His whole

employment of women and children in mines and collieries.

CHAP. III.

1844-46.

In 1844, Sir Robert Peel's Bank Charter Act 1844. was passed. In the same year, a Factory Act was passed, limiting the hours of labour in factories to twelve daily; also, on the motion of Mr. Gladstone, an Act was passed for the better regulation of railways, and especially for providing improved accommodation for third class passengers.

In 1845, four hundred and thirty additional 1845. articles were taken out of the tariff of duties; and the sugar and other duties were reduced. In the same year, the Queen's Colleges in Ireland, for the encouragement of education without religious distinction, were founded.

In 1846, *Sir Robert Peel proposed and carried* 1846. *the Repeal of the Corn Laws.* For this great measure (though it was proximately the result of the famine in Ireland, which made it *impossible* any longer to shut out foreign corn when the home supply had failed), the nation was undoubtedly indebted to the labours of the Anti-

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property is then immediately taxed from two to ten per cent. Besides the probate, large fees are demanded for burying him in the chancel—his virtues are handed down to posterity on taxed marble—and he is then gathered to his fathers—to be taxed no more.”—*Edinburgh Review*, 1820, art. America.

CHAP. III. Corn Law League, the most distinguished members of which were Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright.\*  
1847-49.

1847. In 1847, a Factory Act (known as Fielden's Factory Act) was passed, limiting the hours of labour for persons under eighteen years of age to fifty-eight hours a week (ten hours on the first five working days, and eight hours on Saturdays).

1848. In 1848, a Public Health Act was passed; also, an Act providing for the construction and maintenance of a proper system of sewerage and drainage in the metropolis. In the same year, an Incumbered Estates Act, for Ireland, was passed.

1849. In 1849, the Navigation Laws were repealed.†

Changes in the  
Ministry.

\* Sir Robert Peel resigned office on the sixth of July, 1846, and was succeeded by Lord John Russell; on the twenty-seventh of February, 1852, the Earl of Derby became Prime Minister, with Mr. Disraeli as Chancellor of the Exchequer; and on the twenty-eighth of December, in the same year, the Earl of Aberdeen became Prime Minister, with Mr. Gladstone as Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Earl retained office till the tenth of February, 1855, when he retired in consequence of an adverse vote in the House of Commons on the conduct of the war in the Crimea, and was succeeded by Lord Palmerston.

The Naviga-  
tion Laws.

† The Navigation Laws had been passed in 1651, 1661, and 1662. Under these laws, no goods might be imported into Great Britain, or the British dominions, from Asia, Africa, America, Russia and Turkey, and several other European countries, except in British vessels, or vessels

In 1850, a Parliamentary Franchise Act, for Ireland, was passed. CHAP. III.  
1850-58.

In 1851, the window-duty was abolished. 1851.

In 1853, the duty on soap was abolished, and one hundred and thirty-three other taxes were reduced. 1853.

From 1853 to 1855 there was war with Russia; in 1856 and 1857, war with China; and in 1857 and 1858 the Indian Mutiny occurred. During these years, as is always the case in war time, very little was done in the interest of the people. The only notable exceptions were the repeal of the duty on newspapers, in 1855; the transference of the government of India from the East India Company to the Crown, in 1858; and, also in 1858, the abolition of the property qualification of Members of Parliament, and, after many years' conflict between the Commons and the Lords,\*

belonging to the country where the goods were produced. The object of the laws was to encourage British shipping, at the expense of the Dutch. They had been considerably modified in 1823, as a result of the energy and enlightened views of Mr. Huskisson; but it was still unlawful to send goods to or from the United Kingdom and any of its possessions, or from one British colony to another, except in British ships, or ships of the country where the goods were produced or whence they were exported.

\* The conflict had lasted since 1847, when Baron Lionel de Rothschild was elected for the City of London. He was the first Jew to enter the House of Commons under the provisions of the new law, which enabled each

Admission of  
Jews to  
Parliament.



CHAP. III. the admission of Jews to the House of Com-  
 1861-64. mons.\*

1861. In 1861, after a lengthened conflict with the Lords, the paper duty was abolished. In the same year, the number of crimes for which capital punishment could be inflicted was reduced to two—namely, treason and wilful murder.

1862. In 1862, the duty on tea was reduced to one shilling a pound.

1864. In 1864, the duty on tea was further reduced to sixpence a pound. In the same year, the infliction of capital punishment in public was abolished; and the regulations concerning the employment of women and children in factories were extended to other trades.

It will be noticed, on glancing over the above list of Reforms, how much fewer they were

House to settle the terms of the oath which should be required from its members. The first Jew to enter the House of Lords was Sir Nathan Meyer de Rothschild (the son of Baron Lionel de Rothschild), who was created a peer in 1885.

Changes in the  
 Ministry.

\* On the twenty-fifth of February, 1858, Lord Palmerston resigned office, and was succeeded by the Earl of Derby. On the eighteenth of June, in the following year, Lord Palmerston once more became Prime Minister, and remained in power till his death, which took place on the eighteenth of October, 1865. He was succeeded by Earl (formerly Lord John) Russell, who had been raised to the peerage in 1861.

during the later than during the earlier period. From 1853 to 1858 the country had been at war, and no further explanation is required so far as those years are concerned. But from 1859 to 1865 there was no such reason for stagnation, and the explanation must be sought, therefore, in other circumstances. One of these is that, during that period, Lord Palmerston was in power; and Lord Palmerston, though a great man, and undoubtedly a great Minister, was never particularly favourable to Reform of any kind. It is probable, however, that, whoever had been Minister, not much more would have been done. By this time, a further Reform of Parliament was needed. Not only was it needed, but it was imperatively called for. Only, Lord Palmerston stood in the way. When he was laid in his grave in Westminster Abbey, the whole nation mourning as at the loss of an old and trusted friend, it is not too much to say that, mingled with the sorrow for his death, and the deep affection for his memory, there was also something like a feeling of relief, though the expression of such a feeling was sternly repressed, that now at last the period of inaction was over, and that yet another chapter in the history of political progress was now about to be opened.

CHAP. III.

1865.

Lord Palmer-  
ston.

## IV.

### THE SECOND REFORM ACT.

#### CHAP. IV.

Imperfections  
of the first  
Reform Act.

The measure  
a compromise.

It has been stated already that the Reform Act of 1832, though it enfranchised nearly the whole body of the middle-class, gave no representation to the classes below them. There were several other particulars in which it failed to satisfy the more advanced Reformers. Even in the Committee by whom the measure was in the first instance drawn, there were those who would have protected the voter against influence or intimidation by the expedient of the ballot. Lord Durham himself held this view strongly; and he was also (besides being ready to concede a franchise much more extended than that ultimately agreed upon) in favour of at least one other Radical idea, namely, the shortening of the duration of Parliaments. But the measure of 1832 was, of necessity, a compromise. It must not be forgotten that at that time there were not very many politicians, not even among

the Liberals themselves, who were prepared to accept advanced ideas. By the majority, such ideas were regarded as revolutionary. Even the measure that was at length carried was revolutionary in the eyes of very many politicians and statesmen; and the difficulty with which the success of the bill was secured—and then only through the fear, on the part of its opponents, of what they considered a still greater evil—is proof that, if a larger proposal had been laid before Parliament, success would have been altogether hopeless.

But though the labouring class, or those who spoke for them, were willing to accept the measure of 1832 as a compromise, they by no means intended that the compromise should be perpetual. On the contrary, there was understood to be a sort of bargain, that, if the labouring class would assist the middle-class in carrying the bill as it stood, the latter would in return employ the new franchise so as to obtain a still further concession for the labourers. If such a bargain was really made, assuredly it was not kept. The new electors, when they had got all or most of what they wanted—which they would never have done but for the assistance of the class below them—treated that class very much as the chief butler

CHAP. IV.

The expectations of the labouring class.

CHAP. IV.

1837.

The commencement  
of a new  
agitation.

Mr. T. S.  
Duncombe.

Previous  
Radical  
proposals.

treated his late companion in tribulation, when "he did not remember Joseph, but forgot him." At any rate, Reform was no more heard of. Perhaps people were weary of the topic. Possibly the new electors, having been admitted into the ranks of the privileged, had become themselves slightly Conservative. As year succeeded year, and Parliament after Parliament was either prorogued or dissolved, without anything being said on the subject, the feeling grew, among the masses, that they had been the victims of a deception, and that, having agitated successfully for others, the time was come when they must speak for themselves.

It was not, however, till after the beginning of a new reign that this feeling found very audible utterance. There had, indeed, been some pretty plain speaking in the early part of the year in which William IV. died, mainly by Mr. John Arthur Roebuck and Sir William Molesworth at Bath, and by Mr Hume and Mr. Grote at a great banquet in Drury Lane Theatre, London; but the first to speak out in Parliament was Mr. Thomas Slingsby Duncombe (usually called "Tom Duncombe"), then one of the members for the borough of Finsbury.\* On

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\* There had been several Radical proposals made in the preceding Parliaments, but they had attracted little

the sixth of February, 1839, Mr. Duncombe moved that the following passage should be added to the Address to the Crown:—"And to assure her Majesty that, as the amendment of the representative system enacted in 1832 has disappointed her Majesty's people, and as that measure is not and cannot be final, her Majesty's faithful Commons will take into early consideration the further Reform of the Commons' House of Parliament." This amendment was lost by a majority of three hundred and forty (426 to 86); but the debate was remarkable for a declaration by Lord John Russell, which did much to increase agitation in the country. "The opinion of the majority of the people," said Lord John, "is, I do believe, against progressive Reforms in the representation. I further believe, that, having gone through the struggle for the Reform Bill, they do not think it would be for their interest to go on adopting fresh changes, to be made in their turn the foundation of still further alterations,

CHAP. IV.  
1839.

Declaration of  
Lord John  
Russell.

attention, and had been easily disposed of. Three times, for example, Mr. Grote (the eminent historian of Greece) had proposed a resolution in favour of the ballot. Three times, also, Mr. C. Tennyson (one of the members for Lambeth) had moved for the repeal of the Septennial Act. All these motions had been defeated, and several of them by very large majorities.

## CHAP. IV.

1839.

and to end in a plan for universal suffrage. We, as a Government, think it right to stand by the declarations of Lord Grey and of Lord Althorp ; we are not ashamed to be the followers of such men ; and by their principles we are content to abide."

Impression in  
the country.

Of course, such a declaration, on the part of a leading Reform Minister, conveyed at once to the people the idea that they might look to their former leaders for no further advances. But, indeed, they had come to this conclusion already ; and it was a reference to their action under this conviction — their " dangerous and illegal " action, as it was called in the Queen's Speech — which opened the way for Mr. Duncombe's amendment. In the previous year (1838), " The People's Charter " had been concocted. Eight members of the House of Commons, of whom Mr. O'Connell was one, met a deputation of working men, in the early part of that year, at the British Coffee House in Cockspur Street ; and, together, they agreed upon a document which expressed their united opinions. " There," said Mr. O'Connell, when the conference was over, and when the document had been settled, " there, Lovett,\* there is your

William  
Lovett.

\* William Lovett was one of the leaders of the movement among the working men. He was afterwards the

Charter. Agitate for it, and never be content with anything less." They *did* agitate for it, and, what is more, they suffered for it. But it was not until after an interval of nearly thirty years—not until most of them had passed away—that their object was attained, even partially; and it was not much short of twenty years more before any very great advance was made towards its accomplishment.

CHAP. IV.  
1839.

That the Chartist agitation proved a failure, was very much the fault of the Chartists themselves. There were some very noble men among them—men who would have added dignity to any movement. They certainly had no selfish object in view, but were moved chiefly by sympathy with the sufferings of their own order. When the Chartist agitation first began, distress was once more prevalent. Wages were low, and food was dear. Large numbers of operatives were without employment. It was not uncommon, in the large towns of the North, to see pale-faced men, and even women, marching in a sort of procession through the streets, in order to inform their neighbours of

Failure of the  
Chartist  
movement  
from the first.

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Secretary of what was called the National Convention. He was one of those imprisoned, wrongly, in 1839; and he died in 1877. His "Life and Struggles," written by himself, was published the year before his death.



## CHAP. IV.

1839.

their condition, and mutely to invoke assistance. If the Chartists had confined themselves to peaceable measures at this time, and if they had not done their best to alienate the middle-class, there can be no doubt that they would have been listened to. Their political programme was not an unreasonable one. Most of "the points of the Charter" (as they were termed) have now been conceded.\* The suffrage has been extended till it is not far short of manhood

The points of  
the Charter.

\* At a great meeting at Birmingham on the sixth of August, 1838—said to have been attended by two hundred thousand persons—a petition to Parliament was adopted, which sufficiently explains the aims of the Chartists. The following is the concluding paragraph of the petition:—"May it, therefore, please your Honourable House to use your utmost endeavours, by all constitutional means, to have a law passed, granting to every male of lawful age, sane mind, and unconvicted of crime, the right of voting for Members of Parliament; directing all future elections of Members of Parliament to be in the way of secret ballot; ordaining that the duration of Parliaments so chosen shall in no case exceed one year; abolishing all property qualifications in the members; and providing for their due remuneration while in attendance on their Parliamentary duties." To these demands there was afterwards added one for the division of the country into equal electoral districts. According to Lovett ("Life and Struggles," p. 170), the scheme, when first drafted, contained a provision for the suffrage of women; "but as several members thought," he says, "that its adoption might retard the suffrage of men, it was unfortunately left out."

suffrage. Vote by ballot has been adopted. The property qualification of members has been abolished. If an ideal equality of electoral districts has not been obtained, the third Reform Act (as we shall see hereafter) has gone very far in that direction. Only the payment of members, and the shortening of the duration of Parliaments, remain yet to be secured. Thus, the experience of fifty years has proved that the authors of "The People's Charter" were but in advance of their time. If only the best men among them had had their way, it is not improbable that they would have been joined by a large proportion of the enfranchised middle-class, and their agitation would then almost certainly have been successful.

As it was, however, they hindered Reform rather than helped it. They chose to seek their objects by violence. There were riots at Birmingham, at Sheffield, at Newcastle. They sought to intimidate, rather than to persuade, the middle-class. The Free Trade agitation began not very long after the Chartist agitation, and the Chartists attended the Free Trade meetings, and attempted to upset them, or rather to turn them into Chartist meetings. Nor was this all. The very churches were invaded by Chartist mobs. The Scottish Presby-

CHAP. IV.  
1839.

It hindered  
Reform rather  
than helped it.

CHAP. IV.  
1839.

terians were engaged at this time in the struggle which culminated in the formation of the Free Church of Scotland,—the Chartists burst in upon their meetings, which were convened to assert the doctrine of spiritual independence, and proposed amendments asserting universal suffrage. One of their plans was to decree what they called a “sacred month,” during which labour was to be entirely suspended. Another was to awe the House of Commons by monster petitions,—one of which, signed, as was alleged, by 1,288,000 persons, and *nearly three miles long*, was presented by Mr. Attwood, on the twelfth of July, 1839, in the form of a large cylinder of paper about four feet in diameter; and a later petition, which was presented by Mr. Duncombe in 1842, and which purported to be signed by 3,300,000 persons (who asked not only for the granting of the Charter, but for the Repeal of the Union), was found, when brought to the House of Commons, too large to pass undivided through the door.

Imprisonment  
of Chartists.

The movement thus begun lasted for several years. Many of the leading Chartists were imprisoned,—some of them, no doubt, justly, others very unjustly. Thomas Cooper was one of the latter. Henry Vincent was another. Mr. Frost (a magistrate of Newport, in Monmouthshire), and two other men, named Williams and

Jones, were convicted of high treason, in 1840, and were sentenced to death, for having attempted to deliver Mr. Vincent by force of arms from the gaol in which he was confined.\* About the same time, or soon afterwards, from four to five hundred other persons were apprehended on charges connected with the Chartist agitation, and most of them were imprisoned for longer or for shorter periods.

CHAP. IV.

1840-48.

At length, in 1848, the revolutionary movement on the Continent occurred. Mr. Feargus O'Connor, who had forced himself long before this into the position of leader of the movement, thought that his time was come.† A

Feargus  
O'Connor.

\* The sentence of death upon Frost and his companions was commuted to one of transportation for life in each case. The commutation was the result of the intervention of Mr. Duncombe. In 1856 they were amnestied, through the efforts again of Mr. Duncombe, and they then returned to England. Mr. Frost died, at the age of ninety-six, in 1877.

Frost,  
Williams,  
and Jones.

† Mr. O'Connor was an Irish barrister. He had been returned to Parliament for the county of Cork in 1832, and again in 1835, but was then unseated on petition. In 1847 he was returned for Nottingham. A story is told in connection with his parliamentary career, which it is worth while to preserve. In the presence of Sir Robert Peel, he was charged in the House with being a Republican; but he repelled the imputation, adding, however, the equivocal statement, that he did not care whether the Queen or the Devil were the reigning monarch. Sir Robert quietly remarked, "When the honourable gentle-

Feargus  
O'Connor.

CHAP. IV.  
1848.  
Kennington  
Common.

demonstration of unparalleled dimensions was appointed to be held, on the tenth of April, on Kennington Common, London. Another monster petition was to be presented to Parliament, and half-a-million men were to walk in procession to the House of Commons to support the prayer of the petition. No one could tell what would happen. Crowns were being tossed about on the other side of the Channel,—it might be that the ancient Crown of England would be trampled in the mire, or placed by exultant *sansculottes* on the head of Mr. Feargus O'Connor. So perilous was the position deemed, that two hundred thousand men—special constables and soldiers—were marshalled under the direction of the Duke of Wellington himself to put down any attempted insurrection. But the demonstration came to nothing. The preparations of the Government doubtless overawed the mob. When the Chartist leader talked about his half-million supporters, he had not followed the example of the ancient Jewish leader, who, before he marched against Ai, “rose up early in the morning” and carefully “numbered the people.”

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man sees the sovereign of his choice on the throne of these realms, I hope he'll enjoy, and I'm sure he'll deserve, the confidence of the Crown.”

Instead of the promised five hundred thousand, only about thirty thousand appeared on the ground. Even these had their spirits damped by the down-pouring rain, which taught them, to use an expression of Carlyle, to "feel that they had a skin." When the petition was presented the same evening by Mr. O'Connor, it was said by him to have been signed by upwards of five million persons. It was found afterwards that the actual number of signatures was less than two millions; and that of these a large proportion were absurdly fictitious, whole sheets being in the same handwriting,—while Victoria Rex, Prince Albert, the Duke of Wellington, etc., appeared many times, and scattered among these were such words as Pugnose, Flatnose, The Boy Jones, and others equally contemptible. From this time, Chartism, as an institution, was dead. Soon after, a land-scheme which Mr. O'Connor had originated, and from which he had led those who believed in him to expect the most magnificent results, utterly broke down. When he died, about seven years subsequently to the Kennington Common *fiasco*, after some other remarkable proceedings in public, several of his later years had been passed in an asylum.

From this time, till after the death of Lord Palmerston, nothing was done in the way of

CHAP. IV.

1848.

The petition  
of the five  
millions.

Collapse of  
the Chartist  
movement.

## CHAP. IV.

1848-52.

Reform,—scarcely anything hopefully attempted. It is necessary, for the purpose of this history, briefly to record the various occasions when the question was brought before Parliament ; \* but

Various  
Reform  
proposals  
(1848-1865).

\* In 1848, two months after the Kennington Common gathering, Mr. Hume proposed a Radical Reform Bill, going very far in the direction of the Charter, but not farther on the franchise question than household suffrage. He was defeated by 351 to 84 ; but the occasion was noteworthy as evoking from Lord John Russell a declaration which made it impossible thenceforth to charge him with any doctrine of "Finality." "Thinking as I do," he said, "that the Reform Act was an improvement upon our old representative system, still I have always been of opinion that it will admit of amendment from time to time. It appears to me that the public mind is now turned to the subject, and that the time is at hand, if it has not already come, when some reform must be made in our representative system." Mr. Hume repeated his motion for Reform in 1849, 1850, and 1852, but always with the same result. He died in 1854.

In 1850, the county franchise in Ireland was reduced to £12, and the borough franchise to £8.

In 1851, Mr. Locke King's motion for assimilating the county to the borough franchise was carried in a thin House ; but his bill was afterwards rejected on the second reading, Lord John Russell pledging himself, on the part of his Government, to bring in a measure of Reform early in the following session.

In 1852, on the ninth of February, Lord John Russell introduced a Reform Bill, which would have given a £20 rating franchise in counties, and a £5 rating franchise in boroughs ; taxpayers to the amount of forty shillings to have the vote in either boroughs or counties ; Birkenhead and Burnley to be enfranchised ; and sixty-seven small

it is not necessary to dwell upon them in detail. Doubtless, they did their part in preparing the way for what followed ultimately; and the persistent endeavours, under adverse circumstances,

CHAP. IV.

1854-59.

boroughs to be enlarged in area, and also in numbers, by the addition of neighbouring places. Lord John Russell's Administration soon afterwards resigned on a defeat on a Militia Bill, and the measure was withdrawn before the second reading.

In 1854, on the thirteenth of February, Lord John Russell introduced another Reform Bill, this time as a member of Lord Aberdeen's Administration. This measure proposed to reduce the franchise in counties to £10, and in the boroughs to a £6 rating franchise. A salary of £100 a year, an income of £10 from dividends, the payment of forty shillings in direct taxes, a degree at any of the Universities, and £50 in a savings' bank, each also gave a right to a vote. Minority representation was proposed. Nineteen small boroughs were to be disfranchised, and twenty-three others partially disfranchised,—the vacant seats, sixty-six in number, being distributed among the counties and the larger boroughs, the Inns of Court, and the University of London. The consideration of this measure was set aside, in consequence of the outbreak of the war with Russia.

In 1857, Mr. Locke King's County Franchise Bill was rejected by 192 to 179; but his Property Qualification Abolition Bill was carried in the House of Commons by 204 to 145, and was passed by the House of Lords in the following year.

In 1858, Mr. Locke King's County Franchise Bill was again introduced, and passed its second reading, this time, by 226 to 168, but was afterwards withdrawn.

In 1859, on the twenty-eighth of February, after an agitation in the country in which Mr. Bright took the



CHAP. IV.

1859.

of such men as Mr. Hume, Mr. Locke King, Mr. (afterwards Sir Edward) Baines, and Lord John Russell himself, deserve to be mentioned with more than gratitude. Happily, they all (except Mr. Hume) survived to see some of the results

leading part, Mr. Disraeli, on the part of the Government of the Earl of Derby, introduced a Conservative Reform Bill, which proposed to give a vote in boroughs to persons who had property to the amount of £10 a year in the Funds, etc.; to persons having £60 in a savings' bank; to the recipients of pensions, of not less than £20 a year, in the naval, military, and civil services; to ministers, lawyers, doctors, and graduates; and to £10 householders in the counties. It also proposed voting by means of voting-papers. No borough was to be wholly disfranchised, but one member was to be taken from each of fifteen boroughs,—eight of the seats to be assigned to the great county populations of Yorkshire, South Lancashire, and Middlesex, and seven to new boroughs to be constituted under the bill. The introduction of the bill led to the withdrawal from the Ministry of two of its most influential members—Mr. Walpole and Mr. Henley. By Mr. Bright the measure was denounced for its “fancy franchises,” and for the entire omission of the labouring classes from its provisions. It was also opposed by Lord John Russell; and an amendment proposed by him on the second reading was carried, after a debate which lasted for nearly a fortnight, by 330 to 291. This defeat of the Government led to a dissolution, and to a change of Ministry, in the June of the same year.

In 1860, on the first of March, Lord John Russell brought forward another Reform Bill, giving the vote to £6 householders in boroughs, and to £10 householders in counties, with an extensive redistribution of seats. Minority representation was again proposed. But so little

of their labours. But, for the time, their efforts were fruitless.

CHAP. IV.

1859.

Before proceeding to recount the momentous changes that followed the death of Lord Palmerston, it is necessary to pause in order to notice the attitude of Mr. Gladstone towards Reform, even while Lord Palmerston was still the head of the Liberal party. The name of Mr. Gladstone will be henceforth the most prominent name in these pages. It has been mentioned already that he was a member of the first Reformed Parliament, which he entered, when in his twenty-third year, as the Conservative representative of Newark. No doubt, his opinions were at that time Conservative; and when, six years afterwards, he published his work on "The State in its Relation to the Church," he was spoken of by Mr. Macaulay, in the *Edinburgh Review*, as "the rising hope" of that section of the Conservative party which had become alien-

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interest was taken in the measure, that it was withdrawn on the eleventh of June.

In 1861, Mr. Locke King's motion for the reduction of the county franchise, and Mr. Baines's motion for the reduction of the borough franchise, were both defeated.

In 1864, a similar result followed upon similar proposals by both members.

In 1865, Mr. Baines again brought forward his measure, but was again defeated.

## CHAP. IV.

1859.

ated from Sir Robert Peel. But, if he was really "the rising hope" of that party, the hope was destined speedily to be disappointed. Within little more than two years of Mr. Macaulay's words being printed, Mr. Gladstone was a colleague and a principal supporter of Sir Robert Peel; and the great revised customs' tariff of 1842, to which the country owed, and still owes, so much, was, under the general direction of Sir Robert Peel, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, the sole and unaided handiwork of Mr. Gladstone, as Vice-President of the Board of Trade. It is no part of our present duty to trace the brilliant career of Mr. Gladstone since that time. Already, while under the leadership of Lord Palmerston, and, previously, of the Earl of Aberdeen, he had proved a splendid Chancellor of the Exchequer. With only one exception—that of Mr. Bright—he was the greatest orator in the House of Commons. He was then in the full vigour of his matured manhood. It will be seen hereafter that, when grey hairs had come upon him, the history of another five-and-twenty years had very far from diminished his reputation.

Mr. Gladstone's first speech on Reform.

Although it is not attempted, in this place, to trace the career of Mr. Gladstone, it is pertinent to remark that he had taken no part, hitherto,

in the Parliamentary discussion of Reform. In the numerous debates on the subject up to 1859, we fail to find even the mention of his name. In that year, however, he supported the bill of Mr. Disraeli, though in doing so he turned his back on both Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston, who sat on the bench beside him. His support of Mr. Disraeli was founded on the belief that it had become necessary to have a bill of some sort. He agreed with nearly all that had been said against Mr. Disraeli's measure. "I cannot be a party," he said, "to the disfranchisement of the county freeholders residing in boroughs. I cannot be a party to the uniformity of the franchise. I cannot be a party to a Reform Bill which does not lower the suffrage in boroughs." But he thought that the bill might be amended in Committee. He deprecated another failure. Greatly to the amusement of the House, he thus depicted the failures of previous Governments:—"In 1851, my noble friend, then the First Minister of the Crown, approached the question of Reform, and commenced with a promise of what was to be done twelve months afterwards. In 1852, he brought in a bill, and it disappeared, together with the Ministry. In 1853, we had the Ministry of Lord Aberdeen, which commenced with a promise of

CHAP. IV.

1859.

The failures  
of previous  
Governments.

## CHAP. IV.

1859.

Reform in twelve months' time. Well, 1854 arrived, and with it arrived the bill, but with it also arrived the war, and in the war was found a reason, and I believe a good reason, for abandoning the bill. Then came the Government of my noble friend the member for Tiverton, which was not less unfortunate in the circumstances which prevented the redemption of those pledges that had been given to the people from the mouth of the sovereign on the throne. In 1855, my noble friend escaped all responsibility for a Reform Bill on account of the war; in 1856, he escaped all responsibility for Reform on account of the peace; in 1857, he escaped that inconvenient responsibility by the dissolution of Parliament; and, in 1858, he escaped again by the dissolution of his Government. This series of events strengthens the misgivings of the people that the House is reluctant to deal with the question, makes it more hazardous to oppose obstacles, and requires the progress of this bill to completion."

The defence of  
nomination  
boroughs.

It was in this speech that Mr. Gladstone made his remarkable defence of the small nomination boroughs, which advanced Reformers regarded as a political scandal. He himself regarded those boroughs as supplying a race of men fitted and trained to carry on the govern-

ment of the country—"masters of civil wisdom," such as Mr. Burke and Sir James Mackintosh—and others, such as Mr. Pelham, Lord Chatham, Mr. Fox, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Canning, Sir Robert Peel—all of whom sat first for small boroughs. "It is not too much to say that not one of these mere boys"—for only one of them when he entered Parliament was more than twenty-two years of age—"could have become a member of this House if it had not been for the means of access which then existed. You cannot expect of large and popular constituencies that they should return boys to Parliament. The conclusion to which this brings me is, that the matter will be a most serious one, if you are prepared to part with your whole system of small boroughs."

CHAP. IV.

1859-64.

This, then, was the position of Mr. Gladstone at the beginning of 1859. Before the end of that year he was once more Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the second Administration of Lord Palmerston. But he took no part in any further debate on Reform, till the introduction of Mr. Baines's bill in 1864. By this time, for the reasons already suggested, there was considerable indisposition, on the part of almost all the political leaders, to take any steps in the direction of Reform. On the occasion of the introduction of Mr. Locke King's County Franchise

Mr. Baines's  
Bill.

CHAP. IV.  
1864-64.

Bill, about a month before the introduction of Mr. Baines's bill, Lord Palmerston, while declining to vote against the bill, declared that he was opposed to "organic changes;" and he added that "the events which were taking place in other countries, and which were in a great measure the result of their constitutional system, had made the people of this country much less anxious for change." Even Lord John Russell (now Earl Russell), in a speech which he had delivered a short time previously, had seemed to acquiesce in this policy of inaction; and the use he had made of the legend, "Rest, and be thankful," had excited a good deal of attention.

"Rest, and  
be thankful."

\* This speech was delivered at a dinner at Blairgowrie, on the twenty-sixth of September, 1863. In 1865, Lord Russell took the opportunity which was furnished by the publication of a new edition of his "Essay on the English Government and Constitution," to explain what he had meant by the quotation. "Turning in my mind," he said, "the serious changes which have been accomplished by the regular working of Parliamentary Government, and seeing in 1863 so very different a state of public feeling from that which prevailed in 1817, in 1819, and in 1830, I remarked, in a speech in Scotland, that the people seemed to have adopted a motto inscribed on a stone at the side of the road at the top of one of their Scotch mountains, 'Rest, and be thankful.' I added that, for my part, I was not disposed to quarrel with that feeling at that time; although, doubtless, there were other hills to be climbed, and other roads to be made. It was sufficiently obvious, I thought, without my pointing it out,

It was no great surprise to any one, therefore, when Mr. Gladstone, speaking on behalf of the Government, announced that they should not support Mr. Baines's measure; but the speech itself created a good deal of surprise, for it was in direct opposition, and seemed even to be intended as a reply, to the speech of Lord Palmerston in the debate on Mr. Locke King's motion. In fact, this speech of Mr. Gladstone marked the beginning of a new era in the history of Reform. Every one felt that the hour was come, or was coming, and also the man. It is necessary, therefore, for the purpose of this history, to give rather extended extracts from the speech.

CHAP. IV.

1864.

The speech commenced with the observation that, although there was a general concurrence

Mr. Gladstone's second speech on Reform.

that neither the road-maker nor the traveller, when he has got to the top of the hill, though he may rest his weary limbs, and contemplate for a time with gratitude and admiration the space he has traversed, and the prospect around him, thinks of making a perpetual bivouac on the summit he has reached. He may hope, indeed, that his future course may be less arduous, the rocks less steep, the torrents less difficult to traverse, the marsh less unsafe to the tread; but he will still move on after his period of repose, and pursue his journey, all the more confident in his path from the success he has already achieved." — "Essay on the English Government and Constitution," supplementary chapter.



CHAP. IV.  
1864.

of opinion that this was not a time at which it would be advisable for the Government to introduce a comprehensive measure of Reform, yet it did not follow that the amendment, which moved the previous question, should be assented to; for the effect of that amendment was to deny that the reduction of the franchise ought to be discussed, and, if possible, settled. "I will not," proceeded Mr. Gladstone, "enter into the question whether the precise form of franchise, and the precise figure, which my hon. friend has indicated, is that which, upon full deliberation, we ought to choose; whether the franchise should be founded on ratepaying or occupation; or whether there should be a lodgers' franchise. I put aside every question except the very simple one which I take to be at issue; and on this I will endeavour not to be misunderstood. I apprehend my hon. friend's bill to mean (and, if such be its meaning, I give my cordial concurrence to the proposition) that there ought to be, not a wholesale, not an excessive, but a sensible and considerable addition to that portion of the working classes—at present almost infinitesimal—which is in possession of the franchise. What is the present state of the constituency, any departure from which some hon. gentlemen deprecate as a 'domestic revolution'?

At present we have, speaking generally, a constituency of which between one-tenth and one-twentieth—certainly less than one-tenth—consists of working men. And what proportion does that fraction of the working classes who are in possession of the franchise bear to the whole body of the working men? I apprehend that I am correct in saying that those who possess the franchise are less than one-fiftieth of the whole number of the working classes. Is that a state of things which we cannot venture to touch or to modify? Is there no choice between excluding forty-nine out of every fifty working men on the one hand, and on the other a “domestic revolution”? I contend that it is on those who say that it is necessary to exclude forty-nine-fiftieths that the burden of proof rests; that it is for them to show the unworthiness, the incapacity, and the misconduct, of the working classes. We are told, indeed, that the working classes do not agitate for an extension of the franchise; but is it desirable that we should wait until they do agitate? In my opinion, agitation by the working classes, upon any political subject whatever, is a thing not to be waited for, not to be made a condition previous to any Parliamentary movement; but, on the contrary, it is a thing to be deprecated, and, if

CHAP. IV.

1864.

The present position of the working classes.

Agitation in their case to be deprecated.

## CHAP. IV.

1864.

"The danger  
signal is on."

The presumption  
in favour  
of the working  
classes.

possible, anticipated and prevented by wise and provident measures. An agitation by the working classes is not like an agitation by the classes above them—the classes possessed of leisure. The agitation of the classes having leisure is easily conducted. It is not with them that every hour of time has a money value; their wives and children are not dependent on the strictly reckoned results of those hours of labour. When a working man finds himself in such a condition that he must abandon that daily labour on which he is strictly dependent for his daily bread,—when he gives up the profitable occupation of his time,—it is then that, in railway language, 'the danger signal is on,' for he does it only because he feels a strong necessity for action, and a distrust in the rulers who, as he thinks, have driven him to that necessity. The present state of things, I rejoice to say, does not indicate that distrust; but, if we admit that, we must not allege the absence of agitation on the part of the working classes as a reason why the Parliament of England, and the public mind of England, should be indisposed to entertain the discussion of this question."

Mr. Gladstone afterwards laid down, broadly, that the presumption was in favour of admitting the working class to a share of political power.

*"I venture to say that every man who is not presumably incapacitated by some consideration of personal unfitness, or of political danger, is morally entitled to come within the pale of the Constitution. Of course, the meaning of that is this, that sudden, violent, and intoxicating changes must be avoided, but that fitness for the franchise, when it is shown to exist, is not repelled on sufficient grounds by the allegation that things are as well as they are. Whenever this question comes to be discussed, with a view to an immediate issue, the conduct of the general body of the operatives of Lancashire cannot be forgotten. What are the qualities which fit a man for the exercise of a privilege such as the franchise? Self-command, self-control, respect for order, patience under suffering, confidence in the law, regard for superiors; and when, I should like to ask, were all these great qualities exhibited in a manner more signal, I would even say more illustrious, than under the profound affliction of the winter of 1862?"*

CHAP. IV.

1864.

The following was the conclusion of the speech:—"I believe that it has been given to us, of this generation, to witness, advancing, as it were, under our very eyes from day to day, the most blessed of all social processes: I mean the process which unites together, not the interests

Conclusion of  
the speech

CHAP. IV.  
1865.

only, but the feelings, of all the several classes of the community, and which throws back into the shadows of oblivion those discords by which they are kept apart from one another. I know of nothing which can contribute, in any degree comparable to that union, to the welfare of the commonwealth. It is well, sir, that we should be suitably provided with armies, and fleets, and fortifications ; it is well, too, that all these should rest upon and be sustained, as they ought to be, by a sound system of finance, and out of a revenue not wasted by a prodigal Parliament, or by a profligate Administration. But that which is better, and more weighty still, is that hearts should be bound together by a reasonable extension, at fitting times, and among selected portions of the people, of every benefit and every privilege that can justly be conferred upon them."

Mr. Baines's  
Bill once more  
defeated.

It has been said, already, that the delivery of this speech marked the beginning of a new era in the history of Reform. But no more was heard of the subject in the existing Parliament, except when, early in 1865, Mr. Baines once more introduced his bill, and was once more defeated. On this occasion, Mr. Gladstone was silent. Mr. Robert Lowe (whom we shall hear of again in connection with the question) made

a remarkable speech, in which he opposed all Reform—all Reform, at least, in the direction proposed by Mr. Baines, and favoured by Mr. Gladstone; and Mr. Disraeli, in one of his ablest and most eloquent orations, pressed again upon Parliament the idea, which indeed had lain at the foundation of his bill of 1859, that Reform should be “lateral,” rather than “Radical.” It was known, however, from the beginning, that no further steps would be taken as a result of Mr. Baines’s proposition. The Parliament was in its last year. Nearly six years had elapsed since a General Election; and, though the Parliaments of this country are legally septennial, in practice no Parliament is permitted to last longer than six years. Under these circumstances, it was by no means unreasonable to argue that an appeal to the people should be made before anything further was attempted. The character of the new Parliament ought to determine the question. If the people were found to agree with Mr. Gladstone, in that case Reform was inevitable. If, on the other hand, they were found to agree with Lord Palmerston that “organic change” was undesirable and objectionable, then the question must be postponed till they altered their opinion.

The dissolution of Parliament took place on

CHAP. IV.

1865.

Dissolution of  
Parliament.

CHAP. IV.  
—  
1865.  
The General  
Election.

Mr Gladstone  
defeated at  
Oxford.

the sixth of July. The General Election followed immediately. But no one would have supposed, from the character of the elections, that "organic Reform" was the question really submitted to the electors. It was the *quietest* election that had taken place for years. "No tempest drives the waves," said Mr. Bright at Birmingham; "the wind is but a whisper." Only one very exciting contest stood out from among the rest,—that for the representation of the University of Oxford. Mr. Gladstone had been one of the members for the University for nearly eighteen years. The University was proud of him. But the elections for the University were decided, not by persons actually in connection with the University, but, to a very large extent, by country parsons and squires who had been connected with it at one time. To such men, new ideas were repugnant. True, this representative of theirs had written a book or two about Homer, and Homer was certainly not a new idea; but, on the other hand, their own associations with Homer may not have been exceedingly pleasant ones,—after this distance of time, their recollections of him may not have been particularly clear; and, as to this existing England, in which rents and tithes were institutions of interest, Mr. Gladstone had said some things

about Reform which might affect rents unfavourably, and some things about the Irish Church which might not facilitate the collection of English tithes. Accordingly, these men rejected him. It was the worst thing they could have done for themselves, but the best thing they could have done for the country. On the very day that Mr. Gladstone's defeat at Oxford was announced, he made his appearance at Manchester as a candidate for the Southern Division of Lancashire. "At last, my friends," he said, "I am come among you; and I am come 'unmuzzled.'" The word was, no doubt, vulgar. It was altogether unworthy of a writer on Homer, and of the ex-representative of an ancient University. The parsons and the squires had applied the term hitherto to canine animals. They were very soon to understand its meaning when applied by himself to a Chancellor of the Exchequer.

CHAP. IV.

1865.

"Un-  
muzzled."

The result of the contest in South Lancashire was the return of Mr. Gladstone. Exactly three months afterwards, the death of Lord Palmerston took place; and this was followed by the elevation of Earl Russell to the premiership, and the selection of Mr. Gladstone as leader of the House of Commons. Now, for the first time, power was in the hands of Mr. Gladstone.

Elected for  
South Lanca-  
shire.Earl Russell  
and Mr.  
Gladstone at  
the head of a  
new Ministry.



CHAP. IV.

1866.

"What will he do with it?" was the universal inquiry. Mr. Bright supplied the answer to the question. Speaking at a great meeting at Birmingham during the recess, and speaking evidently not without authority, Mr. Bright said that the Ministry was pledged to introduce a measure of Reform, and an extended suffrage. "I believe," he added, "*that it will redeem its pledge.*"

The new  
Parliament.

When the new Parliament assembled, on the first of the following February, it was found that the elections throughout the country had resulted in a distinct gain to the Liberals. Their majority was computed at between seventy and eighty. At the same time, if the Liberalism of the House of Commons was certain to be more pronounced under Mr. Gladstone than it had been under Lord Palmerston, the Conservative element was sure to be more active and less forbearing than it had been under that Minister. Besides, the Conservative leader, Mr. Disraeli, was believed to entertain a personal animosity to Mr. Gladstone. They had sat together in the House since 1837, when Mr. Disraeli was first returned as member for Maidstone; but never—not even when Mr. Gladstone sat on the same benches as Mr. Disraeli—had there been the slightest approach to sympathy between them.

Mr. Disraeli.

The future leader of the Conservative party had begun his political career, professedly, as an advanced Liberal. Some years before contesting Maidstone, he had contested the borough of Wycombe, in Buckinghamshire; and then he had succeeded in persuading Mr. Hume and Mr. O'Connell to recommend him to the electors of that constituency. Mr. O'Connell so far changed his opinion of his former *protégé*, as to describe him, on a memorable occasion, as "the lineal descendant, and the heir-at-law, of the blasphemous thief who died upon the Cross." \* If any-

CHAP. IV.

1866.

\* Mr. O'Connell's words were these :—"There is a habit of underrating that great and oppressed nation, the Jews. They are cruelly persecuted by people calling themselves Christians. . . . I have the happiness to be acquainted with some Jewish families in London, and, amongst them, more accomplished ladies, or more humane, cordial, high-minded, or better educated gentlemen, I have never met. It will not be supposed, therefore, that, when I speak of Disraeli as the descendant of a Jew, I mean to tarnish him on that account. They were once the chosen people of God. There were miscreants among them, however, also ; and it must certainly have been from one of these that Disraeli descended. He possesses just the qualities of the impenitent thief who died upon the cross, whose name, I verily believe, must have been Disraeli. For aught I know, the present Disraeli is descended from him ; and, with the impression that he is, I now forgive the heir-at-law of the blasphemous thief who died upon the cross." The occasion of this furious onslaught, which was made in one of Mr. O'Connell's Conciliation Hall

Mr. O'Connell  
on Mr.  
Disraeli.

CHAP. IV.

1866.

thing could have induced Mr. Gladstone to entertain some similar opinion respecting Mr. Disraeli—though he could never have used similar language to that of Mr. O'Connell—it would have been Mr. Disraeli's treatment of Sir Robert Peel. That eminent statesman had been almost literally hounded to death by the man who now sat opposite to Mr. Gladstone as a rival. It was an offence never to be forgotten. It is usual for certain courtesies to pass between the leaders of the two parties, who sit within a few feet of each other. It is believed that no such courtesies ever passed between Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli, from this moment to the very last.

The meeting of  
Parliament.

The Reform  
question.

The Parliament which assembled under such, in some respects, unpromising circumstances, was opened by the Queen in person.\* The only reference in the Royal Speech to the Reform question, was an intimation that, when certain necessary information should have been procured, the attention of Parliament would be

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speeches in Dublin, was an attack which had been made by Mr. Disraeli upon Mr. O'Connell while contesting the borough of Taunton, as a Tory, in 1835.

\* This was the first time that Parliament was opened by the Queen in person, since the death of the Prince Consort, in 1861. The speech was not read by the Queen, but by the Lord Chancellor on her behalf.

called to the results thus obtained, "with a view to such improvements in the laws which regulate the rights of voting in the election of members in the House of Commons, as may tend to strengthen our free institutions, and conduce to the public welfare." Even in the debates on the Address, the question of Reform was but slightly noticed, except in the House of Lords; but, on the introduction soon after of a proposal by Mr. Clay, one of the members for Hull, to bring in a bill for extending the elective franchise on the basis of an educational qualification, Mr. Gladstone promised, on the part of the Government, to bring in their own measure as soon as practicable; and the day ultimately appointed was the twelfth of March.

CHAP. IV.

1866.

It ought not to be forgotten, in recalling the events that followed, that, in regard to the subject of Reform, the newly-constituted Administration had special difficulties to contend with. A very influential section of the Cabinet, and of the party, held to the opinions of Lord Palmerston. They might submit to Reform, but they were very far from eager for it. If it must come, they would have no more of it than was necessary. If it must come sooner or later, they would rather—as their distinguished leader once said when he was told that war must come

The difficulties  
of the Reform  
question.

CHAP. IV.

1866.

Suspicion of  
Mr. Gladstone.

sooner or later—they would rather, in that case, take it later. Among this class of Liberals there was also a certain suspicion of Mr. Gladstone, for which they did not themselves quite know how to account. “A dangerous man, sir,” one old-fashioned country gentleman would say to another, in after-dinner confidence; “one never knows what he will do next!” And, in truth, one hardly ever *did* know what he would do next. He was not half so much afraid of being “inconsistent” as he might have been. He held to the view which the late Archbishop Whately expresses in one of the Annotations to his edition of Bacon’s “Essays,” that “consistency” is not the first commandment in the political decalogue—that it is much more necessary to be *right* than to be consistent. Besides, when Mr. Gladstone was convinced that he had made a mistake, he did not hesitate to say so. In this very session, quite at its beginning, legislation was found to be necessary in reference to the cattle plague. It was proposed to slaughter all animals supposed to be in any danger of infection, and to compensate their owners to the extent of two-thirds of the value. Mr. John Stuart Mill \* rose, in the course of the conver-

Mr. J. S. Mill.

\* Mr. Mill was elected to this Parliament by the city of Westminster. He was rejected at the election of 1868,

sation, and quietly showed that a compensation of one-half the value would be sufficient. His reasoning convinced Mr. Gladstone, who at once accepted the correction; and the country gentlemen, though they were puzzled with the reasoning, fully comprehended the result. Lord Palmerston would have been in no such haste!

CHAP. IV.

1866.

Of course, the actual state of the party, and of the Cabinet, could not be absent from the mind of Mr. Gladstone when preparing his Reform measure. He might perhaps induce the Reformers to accept an instalment, which indeed, as his speeches had shown, was also more in harmony with his own ideas: any extreme or even any very Radical measure, on the other hand, would not only be objected to by some of the most influential of his colleagues, but would be resisted to the death by the whole of the Conservative party, and by a powerful section of the Liberal party also. Hence the necessity of very great moderation, which was enforced also by another consideration. This was the *first* session of a new Parliament, when

The perils  
attached to  
Reform at  
this time. ✓

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chiefly because the cry of "Atheist" had been raised against him. The world has improved during the last two thousand years or so. The citizens of Westminster only *ostracised* Mr. Mill. The Athenians treated Socrates to a cup of hemlock!

## CHAP. IV.

1866.

“organic change” is always looked upon by members with suspicion. They have only just come back from their constituents. Perhaps the interview, however agreeable, has not improved their financial position. They by no means wish, therefore, to repeat their visit immediately; nor, for somewhat similar reasons, are their constituents anxious to see them again so soon. It follows that, under any but very extraordinary circumstances, such as marked the agitation of 1832, the enthusiasm for any Reform which is likely to necessitate a dissolution is at its lowest point at the commencement of a new Parliament. Possibly Mr. Gladstone had this circumstance in his mind when he reserved his latest Reform measure, as we shall see, till the life of the Parliament of 1880 was considerably advanced. Not improbably he might have done the same thing in 1866, if he had not been pledged. But Mr. Gladstone’s pledges always meant something!

Mr. Gladstone’s Bill.

When the Ministerial measure was introduced by Mr. Gladstone on the twelfth of March, the House was quite as full as when, in 1831, Lord John Russell proposed his first Reform Bill. There was considerable curiosity to learn what was the nature of the scheme, but there was

very little excitement. This time, revolution was not knocking at the door. Nor was the measure itself, when its leading provisions had been expounded, found to be at all of an exciting character. Indeed, it was less Radical, in its most important points, than the measure which Lord John Russell had introduced in 1860. Then, it was proposed to reduce the County Franchise to £10; now, it was proposed to reduce that franchise to £14. By the bill of 1860, the Borough Franchise was to have been brought down to £6; now, it was proposed to bring it down to £7. There were several minor provisions in the bill, but it is not necessary to recite these in detail. It was calculated that the measure, if carried, would add about four hundred thousand to the existing voters; and that, of these, about one-half would belong to the working class, and the other half to what Mr. Gladstone called a new middle-class. The question of Redistribution it was proposed to deal with separately hereafter, so that individual members were under no anxiety as to their respective seats. Mr. Gladstone's speech was as moderate as his scheme.

But the scheme was not destined to be unopposed, even on the question of the first reading. Mr. Bright and Mr. Baines at once accepted it.

CHAP. IV.

1866.

Opposition on  
the First  
Reading.



## CHAP. IV.

1866,

Mr. Horsman  
and Mr. Lowe.

Mr. Fawcett,\* in an able maiden speech, declared his warm approval of the bill, as a wise and just concession to the claims of the working classes. Several of the leading Conservatives, however, warmly denounced it; and so did some Liberals, notably Mr. Horsman and Mr. Lowe. Mr. Horsman was at this time member for Stroud, and Mr. Lowe member for Calne, in Wiltshire. The former had been Irish Secretary under Lord Palmerston in 1855, and the latter Vice-President of the Council in the Ministry of 1859.\* They were both men of remarkable ability; and Mr. Lowe (whose political career began in Australia) was distinguished by wide culture and a high order of genius. In the course of these debates on Reform, he exhibited an oratorical power, such as he had never shown before, and such, it may be added, as he never showed afterwards. But, although a Liberal in all other

Mr. Fawcett.

\* Mr. Fawcett had just entered Parliament as member for Brighton. He attained (notwithstanding that he was afflicted with blindness) great distinction, as a political economist especially. In 1880 he was appointed to the office of Postmaster-General. His death, on the sixth of November, 1884, was deeply and universally regretted.

Mr. Horsman  
and Mr. Lowe.

\* Mr. Horsman died in 1876. Mr. Lowe was afterwards, in December, 1868, appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, and, in 1873, Home Secretary. He was raised to the peerage, under the title of Viscount Sherbrooke, in 1880.

things, he had an intense aversion to anything like democratic Reform. He had manifested this aversion, as we have seen, in 1864; now, both he and Mr. Horsman spoke with altogether unexpected vehemence,\* especially marking out Mr. Bright, and not Mr. Gladstone, as the author of the Government measure. This called up Mr. Bright, whose extraordinary power of eloquence was only equalled by his gift of humour, whenever he cared to exercise it. "What," said Mr. Bright, "is the reason that these gentlemen, who have both been holders of

CHAP. IV.

1866.

Mr. Bright.

\* Some words of Mr. Lowe in this speech deserve to be quoted, as they were very frequently adverted to afterwards in Parliament and elsewhere. "You have had," he said, "the opportunity of knowing some of the constituencies of this country; and I ask you, if you want venality, ignorance, drunkenness, and the means of intimidation—if you want impulsive, unreflecting, and violent people—where will you look for them, to the top or the bottom?" In concluding his speech, Mr. Lowe said:—"It may be that we are destined to avoid this enormous danger with which we are confronted, and not—to use the language of my right hon. friend—to compound with danger and misfortune; but it may be otherwise; and all that I can say is, that if my right hon. friend does succeed in carrying this measure through Parliament, when the passions and interests of the day are gone by, I do not envy him his retrospect. I covet not a single leaf of the laurels that may encircle his brow. I do not envy him his triumph. His be the glory of carrying it; mine, of having to the utmost of my poor ability resisted it."

Mr. Lowe's speech.

CHAP. IV.

1866.

office, take this course against the Government bill? I will not deal in any insinuations, but I will say that from gentlemen who formerly held office with Ministers in this country, but who happened to be left out of what may be called the daily ministrations, we have a right to expect a very minute account of the reasons why they change their opinions, before we can turn round and change with them. These are the gentlemen who all at once start up as the great teachers of statesmanship in this House and in this country. What I complain of is this, that when place recedes into the somewhat dim past, that which in office was deemed patriotism vanishes with it. The right hon. gentleman, the member for Stroud, made an attack last night upon so humble an individual as myself. The right hon. gentleman is the first of the new party who has expressed his great grief; he has retired into what may be called his political cave of Adullam, and he has called about him every one that was in distress, and every one that was discontented.\* The right hon. gentleman has

The "Cave of  
Adullam."

"The  
Adullamites."

\* The reference was to 1 Samuel xxii. 1, 2. It may be mentioned that the reference to the cave of Adullam was regarded as so appropriate, that it fastened a distinctive appellation upon those to whom Mr. Bright applied it. Those Liberal members who withheld their support from the Government measure became familiarly known as the

been long anxious to form a party in this House. There is scarcely any one on this side of the House, who is able to address the House with effect, or to take much part in our debates, whom he has not tried to bring over to his party or cabal; and at last the right hon. gentleman has succeeded in hooking the right hon. member for Calne. I know there was an opinion expressed many years ago by a member of the Treasury bench and of the Cabinet, that two men would make a party. When a party is formed of two men so amiable—so discreet—as the two right hon. gentlemen, we may hope to see for the first time in Parliament a party perfectly harmonious, and distinguished by mutual and unbroken trust. But there is one difficulty which it is impossible to remove. This party of two reminds me of the Scotch terrier, which was so covered with hair that you could not tell which was the head and which was the tail of it.”

CHAP. IV.

1866.

The “Scotch  
Terrier.”

“Adullamites,” or the party of “the cave.” On a subsequent evening, however, Lord Elcho (afterwards Earl Wemyss) made a not inapt reply. “As to the cave of Adullam,” he said, “no improper motive has driven us into the cave; the band congregated there is daily—I may say hourly—increasing in strength; and we shall remain there until we go forth to deliver Israel from oppression—in other words, to deliver this House from the tyranny of Saul (Mr. Gladstone) and his armour-bearer (Mr. Bright).”

CHAP. IV.

1866.

The Bill  
introduced."Flesh and  
blood."

At the close of a debate which had lasted over two nights, leave was given to bring in the bill, and the second reading was fixed for an early day after Easter. In the meantime, Earl Grosvenor, who had joined the Adullamite party, and who had conferred with the Tory leaders, gave notice of an amendment on the question of the second reading, to the effect that it was inexpedient to proceed further with the Government measure until the whole scheme (including the plan of Redistribution) was unfolded; and it was in the course of a preliminary discussion on this amendment—which the Government declared their intention to resist—that Mr. Gladstone made use of his celebrated phrase, "flesh and blood." Mr. C. P. Villiers, the member for Wolverhampton, who had made for himself a name as an early advocate of the repeal of the Corn Laws, had spoken in favour of the bill in the debate on the first reading. Lord Robert Montagu, in the course of the present discussion, referred to Mr. Villiers as "the pretended friend" of the working classes; and thereupon Mr. Gladstone rebuked Lord Robert by saying, in his severest manner, that "when the working men, whom the noble lord and others seemed to dread as an invading and destroying army, instead of regarding them as

their own flesh and blood, were introduced into the House, they would set him an example both of courtesy and good breeding." \* CHAP. IV.  
1866.

On the twelfth of April, after the Easter recess, Mr. Gladstone moved the second reading of the bill. During the recess, meetings in favour of Reform had been held in many parts of the country. The most important of these provincial gatherings took place in the Amphitheatre at Liverpool, where Mr. Gladstone delivered an eloquent and impassioned address. The Second Reading.

\* As the reply of Lord Elcho to Mr. Bright on the occasion of the Adullamite reference has been quoted, it is proper, in the same spirit, to quote some words of Sir Bulwer Lytton (afterwards Lord Lytton), on a subsequent evening, in reference to this speech of Mr. Gladstone. Referring to the modified nature of the concessions made by the bill, he expressed his amazement that the Chancellor of the Exchequer could descend to a species of argument so hollow in itself and so perilous in its logical deductions. "What," he continued, "has the right hon. gentleman to say to the millions who will ask him one day, 'Are we an invading army? Are we not fellow-Christians? Are we not your own flesh and blood?' Does he think it will be answer enough to give that kind of modified opinion which he put forth last night, and to say, 'Well, that is very true. For my own part, in my individual capacity, I cannot see that there is any danger in admitting you; but still, you know, it is wise to proceed gradually. A seven pound voter is real flesh and blood. But you are only gradual flesh and blood. Read Darwin on the Origin of Species, and learn that you are fellow-Christians in an imperfect state of development.'"

Sir E. B. Lytton's reply to Mr. Gladstone.

## CHAP. IV.

1866.

Amidst the cheers of an assembly several thousands in number, who rose to their feet as he made the declaration, he said that the Government would stand or fall by their bill. "We have passed the Rubicon," he said. "We have broken the bridge, and burned the boats behind us. We have advisedly cut off the means of retreat. . . . Let the great English nation be wise, and wise in time." It is noticeable that Mr. Gladstone's speech, in moving the second reading, ended with almost precisely the same words as those last quoted. "Enough, and more than enough, of vain, idle, and mocking words have been uttered. Acts and deeds are wanted. I beseech you to be wise, and to be wise in time."

Lord  
Grosvenor's  
Amendment.

But it was evident, even from the time that Mr. Gladstone closed his speech, that, if he gained the victory, it would be only after a prolonged and arduous conflict. When Lord Grosvenor moved the amendment of which he had given notice, he was supported, not merely by the compact ranks of the Conservatives, but by a body of Liberals who had not been deterred by Mr. Bright's humorous sally from uniting their fortunes with those of the Adullamites; and these last, if not actually numerous, might be numerous enough to turn the scale in a

division, and were certainly strong in both personal and political reputation and in the possession of that kind of eloquence which is particularly effective with the House of Commons. Lord Grosvenor, for example, spoke, not only with dignity and impressiveness, but with the authority of the eldest son of the House of Westminster; Mr. Lowe spoke with a force of both argument and invective, worthy of the very best traditions of the British Parliament; the speech of Mr. Horsman was an admirable specimen of the facetious and factious kind of oratory for which that hon. member was celebrated to the very end of his career; while, looking through the records of the time, it would be difficult to find anywhere, in any debate, more masterly addresses than those delivered from the Conservative benches by Lord Stanley (afterwards Earl of Derby), Sir E. Bulwer Lytton (afterwards Earl Lytton), Sir Hugh Cairns (afterwards Earl Cairns), Lord Cranborne (afterwards Marquis of Salisbury), and Mr. Disraeli. But, however fine the finest of these orations may have been, it did not equal the speech of Mr. Gladstone in reply; and, if the safety of the measure could have been secured by fervid eloquence, combined with high intellectual vigour and a lofty moral

CHAP. IV.  
1866.

Mr. Gladstone's reply.



CHAP. IV.

1866.

tone, the victory of the Government must have been decisive. Particularly damaging was Mr. Gladstone's reply to Mr. Disraeli, who had quoted against him some of his early utterances while still an undergraduate at Oxford; scarcely less telling was his reply to Mr. Lowe's prediction, of the fall of the Constitution if the bill were carried, that similar predictions, uttered by greater men than he, "now form a capital subject of declamation by schoolboys, and capital exercises to be translated into Greek;"\* and his defence of the working classes against the vituperation and even calumny with which they had been assailed by several of the speakers, was worthy alike of his personal generosity and of his political sagacity. "But, sir," he said in conclusion, "we are assailed. This bill is in a state of crisis and of peril. We stand or fall with it. We stand with it now; we may fall with it a short time hence; but, if we do, we shall rise with it hereafter. I shall not attempt to measure with precision the forces that are to be arrayed in the coming struggle. Perhaps the great division of to-night is not the last that must take place.

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\* Mr. Lowe's speech in this debate was by far the greatest of all his speeches on Reform. It was received with the most tumultuous applause.

You may possibly succeed at some point of the contest. You may drive us from our seats. You may bury the bill that we have introduced ; but for its epitaph we will write upon its gravestone this line, with certain confidence in its fulfilment—

CHAP. IV.

1866.

*‘Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor.’ \**

You cannot fight against the future. Time is on our side. The great social forces which move on in their might and majesty, and which the tumult of our debates does not for a moment impede or disturb—those great social forces are against you ; they are marshalled on our side ; and the banner which we now carry in this fight, though perhaps at some moment it may droop over our sinking heads, yet it soon again will float in the eye of heaven, and it will be borne by the firm hands of the united people of the three kingdoms, perhaps not to an easy, but to a certain and a not distant victory.”

“Time is on our side.”

Mr. Gladstone concluded his speech at three o’clock in the morning. The House was densely crowded, and the feelings of those present were wound up to the highest pitch. When the division was taken—after a debate which had extended over eight days—the Government

A majority of five.

\* “From our bones an avenger will arise.”

CHAP. IV.  
1866.

majority was five (318 to 313). No such vote had ever been taken before, as regards the number who took part in it. Both parties were, perhaps, equally jubilant. The most jubilant of all were the two or three dozen men, who had issued forth from the cave of Adullam, to "deliver the House from the tyranny of Saul (Mr. Gladstone) and of his armour-bearer (Mr. Bright)."

The Redistri-  
bution  
scheme.

But the victory was with the Government after all, and, notwithstanding the smallness of their majority, they resolved to proceed with the bill. They deemed it their duty, however, to defer so far to the opinion of the minority, as to produce their Redistribution scheme at once, though only on the condition that it should afterwards be left over till the Representation Bill had been disposed of. It is not necessary to reproduce the Redistribution scheme in detail. No borough with a population of less than eight thousand was to return more than one member. This affected thirty boroughs, placing thirty seats at the disposal of the Government; and nineteen other seats were to be obtained by the grouping of smaller boroughs. Thus, forty-nine seats would become available for larger places; and, of these, twenty-six were to be given to the counties; one to Liverpool, Manchester, Salford,

Birmingham, and Leeds, respectively; several to the metropolitan boroughs; one to the University of London; and one to each unrepresented borough having a population of not less than eighteen thousand. A somewhat similar rearrangement was proposed for Scotland and Ireland. These were the main proposals of the Government in regard to Redistribution, and they were not formally opposed; but Mr. Disraeli, expressing the opinion that they were feeble and inadequate, and that the Representation Bill was equally so, recommended the Chancellor of the Exchequer to recross the Rubicon, to rebuild his bridges, and to reconstruct his boats. Ultimately, after considerable discussion, the Government consented to fuse the Representation Bill and the Redistribution Bill into one bill; and, if the House had been anxious for Reform, this concession would have sufficed. But, in fact, it was quite the contrary; and, when the combined bills were at length in Committee, successive hostile amendments were moved, the last—which was proposed by Lord Dunkellin, who wished to substitute a rateable for a rental qualification in boroughs—being carried against Ministers by a majority of eleven (315 to 304). Next day, on the nineteenth of June—for what has been put down here so briefly

CHAP. IV.

1866.

The Bill in  
Committee.The Ministry  
defeated.

## CHAP. IV.

1866.

Their  
Resignation.

occupied the House of Commons (other business, of course, intervening) for more than two months—Mr. Gladstone and Earl Russell announced in the respective Houses that Ministers had tendered their resignation. A few days later, the Earl of Derby was Prime Minister, with Mr. Disraeli as Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Excitement in  
the country.

Meantime, the proceedings in Parliament, and especially the overthrow of the Ministry, had aroused the dormant feeling of the country. Hitherto, the people had been quiescent. They had entertained no doubt that, with Earl Russell as Prime Minister, and Mr. Gladstone as Leader of the House of Commons, the Reform question was as good as settled. The defeat of the Ministry came upon them, consequently, as a shock. For the moment, they seemed to be almost stunned by it. But henceforth, to the very end of the conflict, no one was able to say of them that they were indifferent.

In the  
Metropolis.

The agitation began in the metropolis. On the twenty-ninth of June—three days after the Ministerial resignation had been announced—there was a great meeting in Trafalgar Square, at which upwards of ten thousand persons were present; and these, after passing certain resolutions in the Square, spread themselves over the west-end of the town, cheering at the doors of

the Reform leaders, and hooting and execrating their opponents. But this meeting was only preliminary to a reconstitution of the Reform League, with Mr. Edmund Beales \* as its President; and he and the Council of the League at once set themselves to prepare for a great demonstration in Hyde Park, which was fixed for the twenty-third of July. Before that day arrived, however, the authorities had issued a police-notice, forbidding the use of the park for such a purpose; and, as the demonstration was expected to be attended by many thousand persons, who were to march in procession from all parts of the metropolis, a collision with the police or the military was seriously apprehended. This was averted for the time by the discretion of Mr. Beales and his associates, who, having

CHAP. IV.

1866.

Hyde Park.

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\* Mr. Beales—to whom the cause of Reform was at this time greatly indebted, both for the restraint he put upon the people and for the mingled firmness and discretion he exhibited—was a barrister of considerable repute, who had been for several years a Revising Barrister for the county of Middlesex. At the next nomination of Revising Barristers, Lord Chief Justice Cockburn declined to reappoint him, on account of his connection with the League; but in 1870 he was appointed a County Court Judge for Cambridgeshire, etc., by Lord Chancellor Hatherley, who expressed special satisfaction at being able to render to Mr. Beales this act of justice. Mr. Beales died in 1881.

Mr. Edmund  
Beales.

## CHAP. IV.

1866.

The Railings  
come down.

The Provinces.

Mr. Bright.

His reference  
to the Queen.

presented themselves at the gates of the park and formally demanded admission, with the intention of trying the question hereafter in a Court of Law if necessary, withdrew at once to Trafalgar Square, where the meeting was held. But Trafalgar Square, large as is its area, would not receive a tithe of the people who had congregated ; and a portion of the rest, crowding up to the park gates, and pressing against the iron railings on either side, at length forced down the railings, and entered the park, their possession of which was fortunately no longer disputed.

In the provinces, the agitation began at Birmingham. There, on the twenty-seventh of August, a great meeting was held in the Brookfields, at which the numbers present were variously estimated at from 150,000 to 250,000 ; and this was followed by a *soirée* in the Town Hall, at which an address was presented to Mr. Bright, and at which he, of course, was the principal speaker. Afterwards, Mr. Bright attended meetings, at all of which vast numbers were present, in Manchester, Leeds, Glasgow, Dublin, and, finally, in St. James's Hall, London. All these meetings were held before the close of the year. It was at the St. James's Hall meeting, on the fourth of December, that Mr. Bright used those generous words about the

CHAP. IV.

1866.

Queen, which proved him to be as loyal to the Crown as he was firm in defending the rights of the people. One of the speakers was supposed to have said something in disparagement of the Queen, especially in connection with her unfrequent appearance on public occasions. The interpretation put upon his words was afterwards disputed by the speaker, but they called forth the following sentences from Mr. Bright. "I rise for one moment," he said, "before the vote of thanks to the Chairman is put. I need hardly say that I entirely concur in it, and I hope it will receive the unanimous support of the meeting. But I rise for the purpose of making in one sentence a reference to a portion of the speech of one of the speakers, which I hope I did not fully comprehend, but, if I did, in which I am totally unable to concur. He made an allusion to the great meeting of yesterday—to the assemblage in the Park and the neighbourhood of the Palace. He also made observations with regard to the Queen, which, in my opinion, no meeting of people in this country, and certainly no meeting of Reformers, ought to listen to with approbation. Let it be remembered that there has been no occasion on which any Ministry has proposed an improved representation of the people, when the



CHAP. IV.  
1866.

Queen has not given her cordial, unhesitating, and, I believe, hearty assent. Let it be remembered that, if there be now at her side a Minister who is opposed to an improvement of the representation of the people, it is because, in obedience to well-known rules and constitutional practice, the decision of the House of Commons on the bill of last session rendered it necessary for her to take the course which she then did take. But the hon. gentleman referred further to a supposed absorption of the sympathies of the Queen, in grief for her late husband, to the exclusion of sympathy for and with the people. I am not accustomed to stand up in defence of those who are possessors of crowns. But I could not sit here and hear that observation without a sensation of wonder and of pain. I think there has been by many persons a great injustice done to the Queen in reference to her desolate and widowed position. And I venture to say this, that a woman, be she the Queen of a great realm, or be she the wife of one of your labouring men, who can keep alive in her heart a great sorrow for the lost object of her life and her affections, is not at all likely to be wanting in a great and generous sympathy with you."

While the agitation was going on in the country, it got to be understood, though Ministers

carefully avoided committing themselves by any pledge on the subject, that they intended to take up the question of Reform; and this impression was confirmed when, on the fifth of February, 1867, Parliament re-assembled after the recess. On this occasion, the Queen again appeared in person, her Speech being again read by the Lord Chancellor; and in the Speech her Majesty was made to say,—“Your attention will again be called to the state of the representation of the people in Parliament; and I trust that your deliberations, conducted in a spirit of moderation and mutual forbearance, may lead to the adoption of measures which, without unduly disturbing the balance of political power, shall freely extend the elective franchise.”

Pursuant to the intimation thus made in the Speech, Mr. Disraeli rose in his place on the following Monday (the eleventh of February), to inform the House as to the mode of procedure which the Government proposed to adopt in reference to Reform. He began by formulating what seemed to the Opposition the very extraordinary doctrine—but the very convenient one for a Ministry in a minority—that the question of Reform ought no longer to be a question which should involve the fate of Cabinets; and he founded this doctrine on the fact that “all

CHAP. IV.

1867.

The meeting of  
Parliament.The Queen's  
Speech.Proceeding by  
way of  
Resolution.

## CHAP. IV.

1867.

parties had attempted to deal with the question—in 1852, 1854, 1859, 1860, and 1866—and had all equally failed.” In order that the House might share with the Government the responsibility for any measure that might be introduced, he proposed to proceed in the first instance by way of Resolution—that is, to ask the House to agree to a series of Resolutions which he would lay on the table, and which, if agreed to, would furnish the basis of a bill. As these Resolutions were not destined to be passed, or even formally proposed, it is unnecessary to state them at length; but it is necessary to mention the scheme, both as to Representation and Redistribution, which it was proposed to found upon the Resolutions, and for which the Resolutions, it was thought, would furnish an adequate foundation.

Mr. Disraeli's  
scheme.

The Franchise.

In the first place,—as to the Representation part of the measure,—several new franchises were to be instituted; namely,—(1) an educational franchise—under which persons who had taken a degree, ministers of religion, members of any learned profession, and certificated schoolmasters, were each to have a vote; (2) a savings'-bank franchise—giving the vote to all depositors in savings'-banks to the amount of £30, where the deposit had remained untouched for a year; (3)

a franchise founded upon the possession of £50 in the Funds; (4) a franchise resting upon the payment of twenty shillings per annum in direct taxation. All these franchises were to be extended to both boroughs and counties,—in the latter of which it was proposed to reduce the occupation franchise from £50 to £20 (rating), while in the boroughs the occupation franchise was to be reduced from £10 to £6 (rating). In the original scheme, the principle of a plurality (or rather a duality) of votes was recommended—that is, that every man who possessed the occupation franchise, and also paid twenty shillings annually in direct taxation, should have two votes—but this part of the scheme was withdrawn. As to Redistribution, it was proposed that Yarmouth, Lancaster, Reigate, and Totnes—which had been convicted of extensive corruption—should be disfranchised; and that twenty-three boroughs, which had fewer than seven thousand inhabitants, should lose one member each. Of the thirty seats thus placed at the disposal of the House, fourteen were to be given to new boroughs in the Northern and Midland districts, fifteen to counties, and one to the London University. For reasons which will presently appear, this bill came to be spoken of as “The Ten Minutes’ Bill.”

CHAP. IV.

1867.

Redistribution.

## CHAP. IV.

1867.

The Resolutions with-  
drawn.

The Bill.

It has been said that the Resolutions were not destined to be passed. They were to have been considered on Thursday, the twenty-eighth of February—the bill which it was proposed to found upon them having been explained by Mr. Disraeli on the previous Monday ; but on Wednesday, the twenty-seventh, they were withdrawn, it being manifest from the expressions of opinion in the House that, if pressed, they would not be carried. But the same fate which thus befell the Resolutions was in store also for the bill itself. On the fourth of March, it became known to the public that three members of the Cabinet—the Earl of Carnarvon, Lord Cranborne, and General Peel—had resigned their offices, in consequence of a difference of opinion with their colleagues on the subject of the bill. The explanation which followed was most curious. It was furnished by the Prime Minister in the House of Lords, and by Sir John Pakington (who had been transferred from the Admiralty to the War Department) on his re-election for Droitwich. As the narrative is interesting in itself, and as such candid disclosures of the interior proceedings of Cabinets are not of frequent occurrence, it is desirable to give extracts from both speeches.

“They all knew,” said Sir John Pakington,

addressing the electors of Droitwich, "that on the twenty-third of February a Cabinet Council decided on the Reform Bill which was to be proposed to Parliament. On Monday, the twenty-fifth, at two o'clock in the afternoon, Lord Derby was to address the whole Conservative party in Downing-street. At half-past four in the afternoon of that day—he mentioned the hour because it was important—the Chancellor of the Exchequer was to explain the Reform Bill in the House of Commons. When the Cabinet Council rose on the previous Saturday, it was his belief that they were a unanimous Cabinet on the Reform Bill then determined upon. On the Monday, however, between eleven and twelve o'clock, he received an urgent summons to attend Lord Derby's house at half-past twelve o'clock on important business. At that hour, he reached Lord Derby's house, but found there only three or four members of the Cabinet. It was nearly half-past one before they got together. As each dropped in, the question was put, 'What was the matter? why were they convened?' and, as they successively came in, they were informed that Lord Cranborne and Lord Carnarvon had seceded, objecting to the details of the bill, which they thought they had adopted on the Saturday. Imagine the difficulty they were in.

CHAP. IV.

1867.

The History of  
the Bill.—Sir  
John Paking-  
ton.

CHAP. IV.

1867.

"Ten  
minutes."

It was by that time past two o'clock. Lord Derby was to address the Conservative party at half-past two; at half-past four Mr. Disraeli was to unfold the Reform scheme before the House of Commons. Literally, they had not half-an-hour—they had not more than ten minutes—to make up their minds. They determined to propose, not the bill agreed to on the Saturday, but an alternative measure which they had contemplated in the event of their larger and more liberal scheme being rejected by the House of Commons. This alternative scheme was the one which Mr. Disraeli had expounded. They might have made a mistake—he believed they had—but their apology was that they had only ten minutes for consideration. Now, the only honourable course left to them was to retrace their steps. They felt that, however painful the act might be, they must part with those colleagues who took a less liberal view of the Reform question than did the majority of the Cabinet; and they had now decided to bring in the measure which they had previously intended and previously matured."

The Earl of  
Derby's  
explanation.

Lord Derby's explanation may also be given, if only for the sake of comparison with that of Sir John Pakington. "Two schemes," he said, "were originally considered by the Government,

differing as to the extent of the franchise. The more extensive of these schemes was especially pointed to in the fifth Resolution—that which proposed plurality of votes, in order to extend the franchise lower. He himself had hoped that the larger and more comprehensive scheme would be the one fixed upon; but, to his surprise and regret, he found that three of his colleagues disapproved of the scheme. Under these circumstances, they determined to submit to the House of Commons a measure which they did not consider thoroughly satisfactory, but which they hoped might for a time settle the question. But it very soon became obvious that, on neither side of the House, would the proposition of the Government meet with a satisfactory concurrence. They therefore resolved, even at the cost of losing their colleagues, to revert to their original scheme; and in a short time that scheme would be laid by the Chancellor of the Exchequer before the other House of Parliament.”

CHAP. IV.

1867.

It was inevitable that what had occurred should become known without evoking considerable comment both in the House of Commons and in the country. Lord Cranborne was the first to apprise his colleagues in the Lower House that the bill which Ministers were now

Comment in  
the House  
and in the  
country.



CHAP. IV.

1867.

about to introduce "would differ little in many boroughs from household suffrage pure and simple." Thereupon, Mr. Lowe indignantly inquired of those sitting opposite to him if it was to bring in household suffrage that they and others had combined to turn out the late Government; and, pointing to Mr. Bright—who had always advocated household suffrage—he said that the difference between Mr. Bright and the Chancellor of the Exchequer was that the former approached household suffrage from below, and the latter from above. "They met, however, at that point; so that those two were the great twin brethren; but the ship they were in was called Democracy, and the chief they served under was Anarchy."

Mr. Bright's  
opinion.

Mr. Bright, of course, took quite a different view of the situation, and exhorted the House not to take counsel from Mr. Lowe, who, though he stood alone, would be opposed to all extension of the suffrage. "For himself," said Mr. Bright, "he had always held that household suffrage was the true suffrage for boroughs.\* He ap-

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\* So far back as 1858—to say nothing of any previous utterances—Mr. Bright, at a great meeting in Birmingham, had distinctly advocated household suffrage as the first step, though by no means as the final one. The speech will be found in the edition of Mr. Bright's "Speeches" edited by Mr. Thorold Rogers.

pealed to the Government to deal with the working class, as they would with other sections of the community, in a generous and liberal manner, and not to attempt, by any tricks, to shut them out from that which they had a right to expect. If they could not go so far as he did, at least let their proposals be simple and intelligible. The working classes, who read every syllable that was uttered in that House on the subject, were not to be deceived in this matter; and their feeling on it was to be gathered from a motto on a banner carried by the carpenters at a late Trades' Demonstration,—expressed, not in choice English, but in language that would be well understood,—‘Deal with us on the square: we have been chiselled long enough.’”

CHAP. IV.  
1867.

It was not long before these working men knew whether, or how far, they were to be “chiselled.” On the eighteenth of March, Mr. Disraeli moved for leave to bring in the measure on which the Government had at last resolved to take their stand, and explained at length its main provisions. He said that “he would confine his observations to two points. He would first state the object of the Government, and then he would detail the means by which they proposed to accomplish that object. The object was to strengthen the character and

Mr. Disraeli's  
second Bill.

CHAP. IV.

1867.

Household  
suffrage in  
boroughs.

functions of that House, and to establish them on a broad and popular basis. Popular privileges and democratic rights were not identical. More than that, they were contradictory. He hoped that it would never be the fate of this country to live under a democracy, and certainly this bill had no tendency in that direction." Describing the bill itself, he said that the Government had accepted the principle that the franchise should be associated with the payment of rates. In boroughs, it was proposed that all householders of full age, and not subject to any legal incapacity, should be admitted to vote, provided that their occupancy had extended over two years, that they were rated for the relief of the poor, and that the rates due from them up to the preceding fifth day of January had been paid before the twentieth of July. In counties, it was proposed, with the same general conditions as in the boroughs, that all occupiers (whether as owner or tenant) should be admitted to vote, provided that the premises they occupied were of the rateable value of fifteen pounds or upwards. The educational and other similar franchises which were to have been conferred by the bill which had been withdrawn were conferred by the new bill; and the Redistribution clauses were substantially the same in the

two bills. It was estimated that the bill would confer the vote upon upwards of one million persons in boroughs, and upon between three and four hundred thousand persons in counties. Voting was to be by voting-papers; and the dual vote, which had been withdrawn from the former bill, re-appeared in this. Such were the main provisions of the measure. "What we desire to do," said Mr. Disraeli in conclusion, "is to give to all worthy of having the privilege conferred a fair share in the government of the country so far as that may be attained by the expression of a vote; but at the same time we are equally anxious to maintain the principles on which the Constitution is based, and, in proposing amendments, to prevent the preponderance of any class, and to give representation to the nation."

CHAP. IV.

1867.

The second reading of the bill was moved on the twenty-fifth of March, and was discussed for two nights. Mr. Gladstone opened the debate; and, while declining, in deference to the opinion of a number of his supporters, to divide the House on the question of the second reading, he yet expressed the strongest disapproval of the bill, and particularly of certain features in it which he enumerated. Especially, he objected to the dual vote, to the special

The Second  
Reading of  
the Bill.

Mr. Glad-  
stone's  
objections.

## CHAP. IV.

1867.

franchises (educational, rating, etc.), to the disqualification of compound householders under the bill,\* and to voting by voting-papers; and he complained of the omission of a lodger franchise, of the inadequate reduction of the franchise in counties, of the inadequate Redistribution of seats, and of the absence of all provision against traffic in votes by corrupt payment of the rates. It is singular that every one of the faults pointed out by Mr. Gladstone disappeared subsequently. The dual vote was dropped at once. At the close of the two nights' debate, the bill was allowed to go into Committee, and certain formal clauses were immediately agreed to.

The Bill in  
Committee.

The bill, which went into Committee on the seventh of May, did not emerge from that stage till the ninth of July. It would be wearisome, at this time, to detail all the controversies that arose, and all the divisions that took place. At first, Mr.

"Compound  
house-  
holders."

\* Compound householders were small householders whose rates were paid by the landlord, the rates being included in the rent. As their names did not appear in the books as ratepayers, they were excluded from voting under the bill. The term "compound" householder originated in the fact that the landlord usually paid the rates of a number of houses in a lump sum, a certain abatement from the full amount being allowed in consideration of his liability to loss through the non-payment of the rent by the tenant.

Gladstone was disposed to take very hostile action, which it is seen now would probably have been fatal to the measure; but he was controlled by certain members of his party, who (because they had held a conference in the tea-room of the House) were called "the Tea-Room party," and who, believing that the Ministry could be induced to yield almost anything, rather than lose the bill, determined to hold together, and to amend it in detail, on no account permitting it to fall to the ground unless it should be proved that their efforts were hopeless. It turned out ultimately that these members had been in the right. They were denounced at the time, even by Mr. Bright, who said, at a great meeting in Birmingham, "What can be done in Parliamentary parties if every man is to pursue his own little game?" Mr. Gladstone himself was so far discouraged, that he announced his determination to abandon the leadership of his party on the question, though, happily, he was induced to change his mind. Both Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright contributed immensely to the improvement of the measure, though certainly a portion of the credit must be given also to "the Tea-Room party." When the bill emerged from Committee, it was presumably the same bill, though very little of it was left unchanged except

✓ CHAP. IV.  
1867.

"The Tea-Room party."

The Bill wholly changed in Committee.

CHAP. IV.

1867.

the preliminary word, "Whereas." The household suffrage in boroughs was certainly left intact, and for that the credit must undoubtedly be given to Mr. Disraeli, who was the author of the bill. But the educational and savings'-bank clauses had disappeared when the bill left the Committee, and the compound householder had been altogether swept away; the period of residence had been reduced from two years to one year, and a lodger franchise (for lodgers who paid ten pounds a year for unfurnished apartments) had been introduced; the county franchise had been reduced from fifteen pounds to twelve pounds; the voting by voting-papers had been condemned; and (instead of twenty-three boroughs with a population of fewer than seven thousand being deprived of one member, and Yarmouth, Lancaster, Reigate, and Totnes, only, being disfranchised) eleven boroughs were ultimately disfranchised, and thirty-five boroughs with a population of less than ten thousand were deprived of one member; while (instead of fourteen of the new seats being given to new boroughs, fifteen to the counties, and one to the University of London) eighteen of the new seats were given to boroughs, twenty-five to the counties, one to the University of London, one being afterwards given to Wales,

and seven to Scotland. Several other amendments were rejected,—one, proposed by Mr. Lowe, in favour of cumulative voting,\* which was rejected by a majority of one hundred and forty-one; one, proposed by Mr. J. S. Mill, in favour of minority representation, which was withdrawn; and one, also proposed by Mr. Mill, in favour of extending the suffrage to women, which was rejected by a majority of seventy-three. One other change was made after the bill had passed through Committee, namely, the insertion of a clause which specified a number of offices of profit under the Crown, the acceptance of which (by a person holding another such office) was not henceforth to necessitate the vacating of his seat in Parliament. By this alteration in the law, a serious inconvenience was obviated, since it became no longer necessary for a member who was merely transferred from one office to another to go back to his constituents for re-election.

CHAP. IV.

1867.

Mr. Lowe's  
Amendment.Mr. J. S.  
Mill's  
Amendments.

The bill having passed through Committee, it only remained for it to be read a third time. It was so read on the fifteenth of July, and was then sent up to the House of Lords.

The Bill  
passed.

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\* That is, allowing a voter, when more than one candidate was to be returned, to "cumulate" all his votes in favour of one candidate.

Cumulative  
voting.



CHAP. IV.  
1867.  
In the House  
of Lords.

But there a far different reception awaited it from that which had been given to Lord John Russell's measure five-and-thirty years before. Then the Lords were hostile and pugnacious; now they were at least submissive. The former bill was the work of a Whig Ministry and of the Whig party, whom the Lords always oppose; the bill now brought in was, ostensibly at any rate, the production of a Conservative Ministry and of the Conservative party, whom the Lords always support. In 1832, the Conservative party were still "uneducated;" from 1860 to 1867, as was afterwards stated, they had been undergoing, unconsciously, a process of training at the feet of the Gamaliel who was now Chancellor of the Exchequer.\* It is probable, however, that many

Mr. Disraeli  
"educating"  
his party.

\* On the twenty-ninth of the following October, Mr. Disraeli was entertained at a banquet by the Conservatives of Edinburgh, and on that occasion he went into an elaborate review of the Reform Bill, and of the measures which had been necessary to pass it. Speaking of the period between 1860 and 1867 he said:—"During that period of seven years, with the advice, I may say under the instructions of my colleagues, I expressed the principles upon which any measure of Parliamentary Reform ought to be established. Now, mark this, because there are things which you may not have heard in any speech which has been made in the city of Edinburgh. I had to prepare the mind of the country, and to educate—if it be not too arrogant to use such a phrase—to educate our party. It is a large party, and requires its attention to be

noble lords were still only partially "educated," and it is certain that several were so. The Prime Minister himself spoke of the bill as "a leap in the dark." Other Conservative peers (including the Earl of Shaftesbury) gave utterance to still stronger doubts, and spoke, in terms eloquent through emotion, of danger to the old institutions of the country. The Established Church was held to be especially in peril. Questions as to the relations of capital and labour would be forced to the front, and they were not likely to be settled in a manner favourable to capital. The Lords themselves would soon be told that the people were to govern, and not a set of hereditary peers.

CHAP. IV.

1837.

"A leap in the dark"

But no "hereditary peer," whatever his opinions, was bold enough to propose that the measure should be rejected. Even Earl Grey, who moved an amendment on the second reading (which, however, he did not press to a division), acknowledged that a bill of some sort was inevitable, and that all they could do was to take the bill before them, and do their best to mend it in Committee. That was the opinion of Earl Russell also. He, too, was alarmed

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called to questions of this kind with some pressure. I had to prepare the mind of Parliament and of the country on this question of Reform."

CHAP. IV.

1867.

The Bill read  
a second time.Amendments  
in Committee.

at the idea of household suffrage. But in fact, the bill had gone far beyond him.\*

On the twenty-second of July the bill was read a second time, and on the twenty-ninth it went into Committee. There, Earl Cairns succeeded in carrying an amendment to increase the lodger qualification from £10 to £15, but this was afterwards abandoned. He also carried a clause to promote the representation of minorities in the boroughs which were to be represented by three members (Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, and Leeds), the voters in these boroughs to vote for two members only. The system of voting by means of voting-papers was again made a part of the bill, and the copyhold qualification in counties was increased from £5 to £10. Finally, it was enacted that Parliament should not henceforth be dissolved on the demise

Lord Russell.

\* In the course of the debates in the Commons, Lord Russell had seemed to express an opinion more favourable to the bill. "I advised," he says, "my friend Mr. Forster, who was then a leading man in the House of Commons, to support the measure, and to persuade all those politically connected with him to do likewise." But Lord Russell gave this advice with a reservation. "The bill was brought forward by a Government which had always professed Conservative principles, and it could not safely be resisted" ("Recollections and Suggestions," p. 292). There is no doubt, from his speeches in the House of Lords, that Lord Russell would much have preferred a £5 franchise.

of the Crown, but should continue until dissolved in the ordinary way. The discussion on these amendments lasted till the sixth of August, when the bill was read a third time; and on the fifteenth it received the royal assent. In the meantime, however, the Commons had rejected the voting-paper clause, and the copyhold qualification of £5 had been restored. But the clause which gave representation to minorities had been agreed to, notwithstanding a strong protest on the part of Mr. Bright and Mr. Gladstone.\*

CHAP. IV.

1867.

The Bill passed.

Thus, after a great Parliamentary struggle, which had lasted for upwards of six months, this second great measure of Reform was passed. For it *was* a great measure. It admitted not much fewer than a million persons to the franchise in England and Wales alone. It settled the question—and on a basis which on the whole proved eminently satisfactory—for a further

\* Bills for Scotland and Ireland were afterwards introduced, but they were not passed till the July of the following year. In Scotland, the franchise for burghs was fixed at the same rate and on the same terms as in England; for counties the occupation qualification was fixed at £14 or upwards, as appearing on the valuation rolls of the county. In Ireland, the occupation franchise for boroughs was reduced from £8 to £4, and for lodgers it was fixed at £10 as in England; no alteration was made in the county franchise, which remained at £12.

The Scotch and Irish Bills.

CHAP. IV.

1867.

“Dishing  
the Whigs.”

period of seventeen or eighteen years. How much of the credit of the measure was to be given to Mr. Disraeli, and how much to the Reformers, especially to Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright, it is not necessary here to attempt to determine. Mr. Disraeli claimed the credit of it boldly. The bill was exactly what he had wished from the first! Perhaps his main feeling was sufficiently expressed in the remark attributed to the Earl of Derby, when some one complained to him of the revolutionary character of the measure, “Don’t you see how we have dished the Whigs?” \*

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\* An abstract of the Act of 1867, with the various Schedules, will be found in the Appendix.

## V.

### *RESULTS OF THE SECOND REFORM ACT IN GENERAL LEGISLATION.*

WITH the passing of the Second Reform Act, the political career of the Earl of Derby and of Earl Russell may be said practically to have terminated. Early in 1868, the Earl of Derby relinquished the premiership, and was succeeded by Mr. Disraeli; at the same time, Earl Russell relinquished the leadership of the Liberal party, and was succeeded by Mr. Gladstone.\* But a much more important event than a mere change in the leadership of parties was impending. At the end of July, Parliament was prorogued, and a dissolution and a General Election took place in November. The issue of the Election was an estimated Liberal majority of one hundred and

CHAP. V.  
1868.

Mr. Disraeli  
Prime  
Minister.

Dissolution  
and General  
Election.

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\* The Earl of Derby died in the October of the following year. Earl Russell survived till 1878, but, after 1868, his appearances in the House of Lords were only occasional.

CHAP. V.  
 1868.  
 Mr. Gladstone  
 Prime  
 Minister.

fifteen. It followed, as a result, that Mr. Disraeli was displaced, and then Mr. Gladstone became Prime Minister.

Mr. Bright for  
 the first time  
 in office.

As Mr. Disraeli at once relinquished office on the result of the Election becoming known, Mr. Gladstone was Premier at the opening of the new Parliament; and he had succeeded in inducing Mr. Bright to serve under him, as President of the Board of Trade. Thus, the men who had done so much to manipulate the new Reform Act had now that great instrument in their hands, with the power to wield it as they and their colleagues might determine; and it remains to be seen what were the measures passed by them and by others, in the successive Parliaments elected by the once more reformed constituency.

Abolition of  
 compulsory  
 Church Rates.

Two measures must be mentioned, however, as having already passed (in the session of 1868), which, although of comparatively minor importance, were not without interest to large classes of the community. One of these was the abolition of public executions; the other, the abolition of compulsory church rates. It is needless to say that the question of church rates had been agitated in the country for many years. It was deemed—and rightly—a grievance by the Nonconformists, that they should be com-

pelled to pay for the maintenance of a form of worship which they did not use, and of which many amongst them disapproved. Some of them had suffered imprisonment rather than pay the rate. Once, at least, a Church Rate Abolition Bill had passed the House of Commons, but had been rejected by the House of Lords. More than once the Conservatives had proposed to exempt any person from the necessity of paying the rate on his declaring himself a Dissenter and accepting some consequent disqualifications, but Dissenters objected to being so "ticketed." In 1868, Mr. Gladstone introduced a bill, which, while leaving the law in other respects as it stood, prohibited all legal proceedings for the recovery of the rate, and so made the payment entirely voluntary. This compromise had been suggested by Mr. Bright. The bill passed the House of Commons on its third reading by a majority of one hundred and three (181 to 28); and, having been accepted by the House of Lords, on the thirty-first of July it became the law of the land.

It was not, however, till 1869,—when the new Liberal Administration had been fully constituted,—that that process of legislation began which has been described by the phrase "leaps and bounds." Almost the first question intro-

CHAP. V.

1868.

The session  
of 1869.



## CHAP. V.

1869-70.

Disestablishment of the Irish Church.

duced was that of the disestablishment and partial disendowment of the Irish Church. This question had occupied attention during the previous session, when Mr. Gladstone (while still in Opposition) carried resolutions in favour of disestablishment. He now, without much difficulty, but, on the contrary, with general approval, carried a disestablishment measure through the House of Commons; afterwards, with a good deal of difficulty, he obtained for it the concurrence of the House of Lords. This measure—which removed an injustice which had long been felt, and one that interfered greatly with the peace of Ireland—occupied a large part of the session of 1869.\*

The session of 1870.

The Elementary Education Act.

The great measure of 1870—and one of the greatest measures of our time, as to its results—was the Elementary Education Act for England and Wales. This measure was carried mainly through the zeal and perseverance, as well as the statesmanship, of Mr. W. E. Forster; and,

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\* The Earl of Derby made his last speech in opposition to the Irish Church Bill. "My Lords," he said, "I am an old man, past the allotted space of threescore years and ten; and if it be for the last time that I have the honour of addressing your lordships, I declare that it will be to my dying day a satisfaction that I have been able to lift up my voice against a measure, the political impolicy of which is equalled only by its moral iniquity."

though some of its provisions were seriously objected to at the time, by many Nonconformists and others, all causes for discontent were subsequently removed. During the same session, by an Order in Council, all appointments to positions in the Civil Service (with some few exceptions) were thrown open to public competition. A further gain to the public was secured when, by another Order in Council, it was formally declared that the Commander-in-chief of the Army was subordinate to the Minister of War.

CHAP. V.

1870-71.

In 1871, an Army Regulation Act was passed, the principal feature of which was the abolition of purchase, with a view to promotion by merit. The measure being seriously opposed in the Lords, the abolition was effected by an exercise of the royal prerogative, the Crown being advised to cancel the warrant by which alone purchase was authorised. The Lords then accepted the measure, as, if they had not done so, the officers whose interests were affected would have been deprived of the compensation which the bill provided for them. In the same year, the abolition of religious tests in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge was secured; the Ecclesiastical Titles Act of 1851 was repealed;\*

The session  
of 1871.

\* This Act was called forth by a so-called "Papal Aggression," when Dr. Nicholas Wiseman, a very eminent

The Ecclesiastical Titles Act.

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- CHAP. V.      and a Local Government Act was passed for the  
 1872-74.      purpose of extending to small towns and villages  
                  the administrative advantages enjoyed by cities  
                  and boroughs.
1872.      In 1872, the Ballot Act was passed.
1873.      In 1873, the Supreme Court of Judicature  
                  Act was passed ; \* also, an Act for the abolition  
                  of religious tests in the University of Dublin.
1874.      In 1874, the sugar duties were abolished.†
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Roman Catholic clergyman, was elected Cardinal, and was at the same time nominated Archbishop of Westminster. The Act prohibited the assumption of territorial titles by Roman Catholic bishops, under a penalty of £100. The passing of the measure was opposed (though it had been proposed by Lord John Russell) by some of the most enlightened advocates of civil and religious liberty, including Sir James Graham, Mr. Gladstone, Sir Roundell Palmer, Mr. Cobden, Mr. Milner Gibson, Mr. Hume, and Mr. Bright. The Act was persistently disregarded by the Catholics, and was never in a single instance carried out.

The Supreme  
Court of Judi-  
cature Act.

\* This Act united the existing courts into one High Court of Justice (the Courts of Equity and of Common Law being thus consolidated) ; it also constituted a Supreme Court of Appeal.

Dissolution of  
Parliament.  
Mr. Disraeli  
Prime  
Minister.

† On the twenty-fourth of January in this year, Mr. Gladstone suddenly announced a dissolution of Parliament, and a General Election immediately followed. The result was a large majority for the Conservative party. Thereupon, Mr. Gladstone resigned, and Mr. Disraeli again became Prime Minister. Early in the following year (in a letter to Lord Granville, dated Jan. 13th), Mr. Gladstone announced his abdication of the leadership of the Liberal party, on the ground of

In 1875, a Merchant Shipping Bill (Mr. Plimsoll's\*) was passed; also, an Agricultural Holdings Act, by which (unless the landlord and tenant had mutually agreed not to come under the Act) the power of the landlord to distrain for rent was limited to one year,—the cattle of a third party placed for grazing purposes on the land was protected from seizure,—and provision was made for compensation for unexhausted improvements, etc.

CHAP. V.  
1875-78.

From 1876 to 1878 was a period of war, 1876-78. during which, accordingly, very little was done; but in 1877 a South African Confederation Act was passed (with great advantage to the South African Colonies), and in 1878 an Act for the closing of Public Houses on Sundays in Ireland (with great advantage to Ireland). Political activity did not revive till 1880. †

advancing years. He was succeeded by the Marquis of Hartington, Lord Granville leading in the House of Lords as heretofore.

\* The bill is usually called Mr. Plimsoll's; but it was really the bill of the Government, and was far less efficacious than the measure proposed by Mr. Plimsoll.

† In the April of this year, a new Parliament assembled under Mr. Gladstone, who had resumed the leadership of the Liberal party,—Mr. Disraeli (who had been created Earl of Beaconsfield in 1876) having resigned office on the result of the General Election being announced. In the new Parliament, the estimated strength of parties was—

Mr. Gladstone  
again Prime  
Minister.

CHAP. V.

1880-81.

In 1880, a Burials Act was passed, giving to Nonconformists and others the right to bury their dead in the parish graveyards, with or without a religious service, or with a service conducted by ministers of their own choosing. In the same year, the Malt Tax was abolished (a duty on beer being substituted); a Ground Game Act was passed, making the ground game (hares and rabbits) on each holding the property of the tenant, and not of the landlord as heretofore; and an Employers' Liability Act was passed, making employers liable to pay damages for injuries sustained by workpeople in their service, when such injuries are the result of carelessness or neglect on the part of those in authority over them.

1881.

In 1881, an Irish Land Act was passed;\* and

349 Liberals, 243 Conservatives, 60 Home Rulers. In the Parliament just dissolved, there were 250 Liberals, 351 Conservatives, and 51 Home Rulers. Lord Beaconsfield died on the nineteenth of April, 1881.

Irish Land  
Act.

\* This Act provided—(1) That any existing tenant may sell his interest in his holding to the best bidder, the purchaser acquiring all the rights of the seller as a present tenant; (2) That every present tenant (or his assignee) shall have the right to apply to a court to fix a judicial rent, such rent not to be altered for fifteen years, during which time the tenant shall not be disturbed (except by his own act); (3) That the breach of any of the statutory conditions of the holding may be followed by a compulsory sale of the tenant-right. The Land Act was accom-

flogging in the army and navy was abolished. CHAP. V.  
An Act was also passed to prohibit the sale of 1882-84.  
intoxicating liquors on Sundays in Wales.

In 1882, a Married Women's Property Act was 1882.  
passed, giving to a married woman the right of  
acquiring, holding, and disposing, by will or  
otherwise, of any property, real or personal,  
that might come to her, as if she were an  
unmarried woman. Another important Act was  
passed for facilitating sales, leases, and other  
dispositions of settled land, and for promoting  
the execution of improvements thereon.

In 1883, a new Bankruptcy Act was passed ; 1883.  
also, a Patents for Inventions Act, a Corrupt  
Practices at Elections Act, and an Act to pro-  
hibit the Payment of Wages to Workmen in  
Public Houses and in certain other places.

In 1884, an Act was passed to extend the 1884.  
hours of polling (till eight o'clock in the even-  
ing) at Parliamentary and Municipal Elections  
in places having a population of not less than  
three thousand ; in the following year, the Act  
was amended, so as to apply to *all* Parliamentary  
and Municipal Elections.

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panied by an Arrears Act, which liberated the poorest of  
the Irish tenants from two-thirds of their arrears of rent,  
so that they could come under the operation of the Land  
Act. The Arrears Act was not passed, however, till the  
following year, and not without difficulty, through opposi-  
tion in the Lords.

CHAP. V.

1884.

These are the principal measures that followed upon the Reform Act of 1867. It is not claimed that they were all the result of Reform, but it is certain that most of them were,—certain in the sense that they would not have been conceded if Reform had not been secured. The changes that have been recorded are, however, merely legislative; and they were accompanied by vast social and economic transformations, of which the legislative action of the country was undoubtedly to some extent the result, but to a much greater extent the cause.

Social changes.

Changes  
since 1832.

It might be worth while, therefore, to go back farther than 1867—so far, that is, as 1830 or 1832—and to compare the condition of the nation at the period this history has now reached with what it was in the period before Reform was entered upon. For at that time, for example, railway communication was only in its infancy; steam navigation (for distant voyages) was almost unattempted; and the electric telegraph was unknown. Now, these islands are a vast network of railways, which in 1883 stretched over 18,631 miles, and by which in that year 683,718,137 persons travelled; in the same year, the number of steam vessels engaged in the foreign trade exclusively was 3,543 (representing 2,630,497 tons), which

Railways and  
the Electric  
Telegraph.

ploughed their way to every part of the world ; and the electric telegraphs covered 27,604 miles, over which 32,092,026 messages (exclusive of Press messages) were transmitted.

CHAP. V.  
1884.

In 1830-1832, likewise, communication by post was an expensive luxury ; and people living in the south of England and in the north of Scotland were as far separated, as to the time required for postal communication between them, as people now are who live in the south of England and in New York. Then, a letter from London to Edinburgh cost fifteenpence, and took from two to three days in transmission ; now, such a letter is transmitted in eight or nine hours, and a letter can be sent to any part of the United Kingdom for a penny (or, in the form of a post-card, for a halfpenny). The consequence of this change in the postal system is, that, while in 1830 not many more than 60,000,000 communications passed through the post office, in 1883 nearly 1,900,000,000 communications passed through the office,—more than one-half of these being letters, and the rest post cards, book packets, and newspapers.

The Post  
Office.

In 1830, there were not quite four hundred newspapers published in the United Kingdom, most of them sold at fivepence or sixpence a

Newspapers.



CHAP. V.

1884.

copy, and issued once a week only; now, there are upwards of two thousand newspapers, most of them issued daily at a penny, and a considerable number at a halfpenny.

Gas, water,  
schools, etc.

These facts indicate a change in the condition of the people, the value of which it is altogether impossible to over-estimate; but it needs also to be remembered that, in 1830, comparatively few towns were supplied with gas, fewer still with water; there were no schools or libraries for the poor, no efficient system for the relief of distress, no police, no proper drainage of towns and none at all (except natural drainage) in the country; while, as there was no importation of the most necessary food from abroad, provisions were dear, and actual starvation was by no means uncommon.

Increase of  
imports.

Perhaps, indeed, the increase in the imports is one of the most important facts to be recorded in such a retrospect as is now suggested. In 1830, the imports were valued at £46,000,000; in 1883, they were valued at £426,000,000. Wages are, as a rule, fifty per cent. higher now than they were fifty years since; and none of the necessaries of life (except meat), and very few of its comforts, are ten per cent. dearer. Bread (the most necessary article of all) cost, in 1830, tenpence for the four-pound loaf; now, the four-

Prices of  
food, etc.

pound loaf can be bought for fivepence. The same quality of tea which, in 1830, cost four or five shillings a pound, can now be purchased for one and sixpence or one and eightpence. Calicoes (used for dress) then cost a shilling a yard; fabrics of the same quality can now be purchased for sevenpence halfpenny: while woollen cloths, which then cost eighteen shillings a yard, now cost nine or ten shillings a yard, and those in most general use are much less costly.

CHAP. V.

1884.

All these material improvements have followed upon Reform. The credit for them must be given to Reform, to this extent at least, that—as a consequence of Reform, and of Reform only—the legislation by which manufactures and commerce were repressed has been abandoned, and, instead of a few millions of Englishmen being permitted to compete only with each other, competition is now thrown open to the world. Other changes will come in due time. Other chapters in the history of progress remain yet to be written. But, though we may not speak of the future, nor of other countries, we may speak, not without confidence, of the past, and of our own country, and say, that by far the brightest chapter in the history of England hitherto, is that which began in 1830, and ended in 1884.

To what  
extent the  
credit to be  
given to  
Reform.

## VI.

### *THE THIRD REFORM.*

#### CHAP. VI.

Imperfections  
of the second  
Reform Act.

THE Reform Act of 1867, though in some respects a larger measure than even the majority of Reformers had desired or looked for, had two faults at least which prevented its being regarded as a permanent settlement of the question. It gave household suffrage to the boroughs, but withheld it from the counties. Although it corrected some glaring anomalies in the old system of distribution, it left other anomalies, almost equally objectionable, altogether unnoticed.

#### Distribution.

The principle of the Act of 1867, in regard to distribution, was to deprive of one of its members every borough which had a population of less than ten thousand. By the application of this principle, thirty-eight English boroughs were deprived each of one member ; and seven more were wholly disfranchised by the operation of the Scotch Act of 1868. But

there were a great many boroughs with a population of over ten thousand that still remained wholly unrepresented; and, on the other hand, there were boroughs with a population of only a little more than ten thousand that returned as many members as other boroughs with four or five times their population. Such a state of things was wholly indefensible. Earl Russell made it a special subject of remark in the final debate on the bill in the House of Lords; and, when it came afterwards to be considered by the country, the temporising fashion in which the question of distribution had been dealt with was the subject of general observation and condemnation.

CHAP. VI.

The difference between the qualifications in boroughs and counties did not at first attract so much attention. Indeed, it had been always the rule, for some reason or other, to rest the qualification for a vote in the counties on a different basis from that in the boroughs; and even if it had not been so, it would hardly have occurred to any one, when so much in excess of what had been looked for had just been conceded in one direction, to press at once for concessions in another direction. In 1872, however, and in every successive year till 1879, Mr. George Otto Trevelyan directed attention

The County Franchise.

Mr. Trevelyan.

## CHAP. VI.

to the matter. Each year he moved a resolution in the House of Commons for assimilating the county to the borough franchise; and, although invariably worsted on a division, and opposed at first by the leaders of even his own party, he so far succeeded that, by 1876 or 1877, his idea had been accepted by the great mass of Liberals, and became from that time a very prominent article in their future Ministerial creed.

The absurdity  
of the existing  
system.

It would indeed have been surprising if the arguments used by Mr. Trevelyan and by others had failed to commend themselves to all real Liberals. Nothing could be more absurd than that, of two persons, who possessed precisely the same qualification, one should be allowed the vote because he lived in one place, and the other left without the vote because he lived in another place. Nothing could be more inconvenient or incongruous than that a man should be admitted to the full rights of citizenship if he resided on one side of an imaginary line, and be refused those rights if he passed to the other side of that line. There were persons who lived in the same street, some of whom possessed the franchise, and some of whom did not possess it. More than this, there were houses that formed a portion of the same block ;

the occupier of number one was an elector, and the occupier of number two was not an elector. Nor was there any reason for supposing that the people who were unenfranchised were less capable than those who were enfranchised. To a very considerable extent, as in the cases just adverted to, they belonged to the same class. Even where they belonged to different classes—as those who lived in towns and those who lived in agricultural districts—the progress of events had placed them much more nearly on a level than when, say, the first or even the second Reform Act was passed. Since then, “the schoolmaster” had been “abroad.” The penny newspaper—the best of all political instructors—had followed hard in the wake of the schoolmaster. Finally, the agricultural labourers stood much more in need of the protection which the possession of the franchise affords than even the labourers in towns and cities. In towns and cities combination is easy. It is much more difficult in scattered and remote districts. Accordingly, in these scattered and remote districts, acts of injustice were daily committed, which in crowded centres would have been impossible. It was time that the inhabitants of those districts should be enabled to speak for themselves.

Soon after Mr. Gladstone came into power

CHAP. VI.

“The school-  
master  
abroad.”

Agricultural  
Labourers’  
need of  
protection.

## CHAP. VI.

1880.

Mr. Chamberlain and Sir C. Dilke.

Mr. Bright not a Democrat.

in 1880, Mr. Trevelyan became a member of his Administration. Already the Premier had secured the co-operation of two other men new to office—Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Charles Dilke. Both had acquired a high reputation in the country, and both were regarded—now perhaps even more than Mr. Bright—as representatives of the advanced section of the Liberal party. Not that Mr. Bright had in the smallest degree fallen in the admiration and affection of his countrymen. No man—not even Mr. Gladstone himself—was more looked up to or more trusted. But Mr. Bright's position as a political thinker had always been to a certain extent misunderstood. He was an advanced Liberal, but not a Democrat. Once, in the House of Commons,\* he said, "I am not very democratic myself," and the House laughed, but it was true notwithstanding. He was always for "proceeding upon the old lines of the constitution." "New-fangled notions" were abhorrent to him. He was far from being inaccessible to new ideas, but usually such ideas were not very welcome guests. In all this, he differed from his younger colleagues. And he differed from them in yet another respect. It was only natural for him, after his great achievements, to dwell a good deal upon the

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\* Speech on Reform, March 24, 1859.

past. He had seen nearly fifty years of service, during which he had been often misrepresented, oftener misunderstood, but always ultimately successful. The new men, on the other hand, looked mainly to the future, where *their* victories lay. They were not afraid of Democracy, neither of the thing nor of the name. Their presence in the Administration was looked upon as a good augury by the Radicals, and the augury was not destined to prove misleading.

CHAP. VI.  
1880-82

It was understood from the first that, with such men as his coadjutors, Mr. Gladstone was pledged to a still further Reform. He was pledged already, in fact, by his speeches in Midlothian, which had preceded his magnificent return to power. But, though pledged to advance, it was not necessary that the advance should be instant. There were other questions that pressed for solution, and that, from their nature, brooked no delay. Ireland was one of these questions. It was of no use to talk about Reform, when one portion of the United Kingdom was on the very brink of revolution. Besides, the experience of 1866 was not forgotten. Then, Reform had been proposed to a Parliament in its first session, and the result had turned out a failure. The mistake, so far as it was a mistake, was not likely to be repeated.

The Ministry  
pledged to  
further  
Reform.



CHAP. VI.

\* 1883.

Attention  
directed to the  
subject anew.

The Leeds  
Conference.

When, however, not only a first but a second and a third session had passed, and no word had been said about Reform, there began to be some signs of impatience. Mr. Forster was one of the first to recall attention to the subject, in a speech at Leeds; and he was followed very speedily, or may perhaps to some extent have been anticipated, by Sir Charles Dilke and Mr. Chamberlain. But it was not until Parliament had been again prorogued that the movement began to assume national importance. On the seventeenth of October, 1883, a great Conference was held at Leeds, for the purpose of considering the Liberal programme for the ensuing session. The Conference was attended by no fewer than two thousand delegates, who represented upwards of five hundred Liberal Associations. It was presided over by Mr. John Morley. No Cabinet Minister, of course, was present, for Mr. Bright, who presided at the evening meeting, had left the Ministry in the July of the previous year; but it is by no means improbable that the Radical members of the Administration had been informally consulted, and it is certain that they approved of the Conference being convened. No assemblage could have been more enthusiastic. No expression of opinion

could have been more decided. To a man the delegates agreed as to the imperative necessity of household suffrage being extended to the counties; and almost to a man they agreed also as to the necessity of the measure being no longer delayed. From that moment it was clear that the Government must either proceed with Reform at once, or must forfeit the sympathy of their supporters all over the country. It was not probable that they would risk the latter alternative. It is rather probable that they had waited only to be wooed.

CHAP. VI.

1884.

When Parliament met on the fifth of the following February, all doubt was finally set at rest. A measure for "the enlargement of the occupation franchise in Parliamentary Elections throughout the United Kingdom" was distinctly promised in the Royal Speech; and the same evening Mr. Gladstone gave notice that "on the first available day" he would move for leave to bring in the bill. So much was the House of Commons occupied with affairs in Egypt and the Soudan, however, that it was not till the twenty-ninth of February that the Premier was able to fulfil his pledge. In doing so, he made one remarkable avowal. "I am not prepared," he said, "to discuss admission to the franchise now as it was discussed fifty years ago, when Lord John

A new  
Reform Bill.The Bill  
introduced.

CHAP. VI.

1884.

The strength  
of the State.

Russell had to state, with almost bated breath, that he expected to add, in the three kingdoms, half-a-million to the constituencies. It is not now a question of nicely-calculated less or more. I take my stand upon the broad principle, that the enfranchisement of capable citizens, be they few or be they many—and if they be many, so much the better—is an addition to the strength of the State. The strength of the modern State lies in the representative system. I rejoice to think that in this happy country, and in this happy constitution, we have other sources of strength, in the respect paid to the various orders in the State, in the authority they enjoy, and in the unbroken course which has been allowed to all our national traditions. But still, in the main, it is the representative system which is the strength of the modern State in general, and of the State in this country in particular.”

The question then arose, Who were capable citizens? This, Mr. Gladstone maintained, had been settled by the experience of the past fifteen years, during which the householders in towns had shown themselves in all senses worthy of the confidence with which they were treated. The Government scheme proposed to enfranchise the county population on the same

footing; for, after all, the main constituents of the county population were the artisans, the miners, and the small tradesmen of the rural towns, and, in addition to these, the agricultural labourers. That these new voters would prove capable citizens, qualified to make good use of their votes, was indicated by the elections already conducted under the first and second Reform Acts in places which those Acts classed as towns, but which were, in fact, rural communities. Moreover, Mr. Gladstone asserted that the agricultural labourer was not inferior to the skilled artisan; and he made this assertion on the ground that very much more was left to the agricultural labourer to do—many things which required the exercise of native intelligence; and on this account he stood on a different footing to the artisan, whose physical powers were usually tied down to one mechanical exercise of them. “If the agricultural labourer has one defect, it is that he is too ready to work under the influence of his superiors;” but that was a defect that the opponents of the bill would be least likely to bring against him; and, “for ourselves,” added Mr. Gladstone, “we are ready, and, much more, we are joyful, to bring him within reach of this last and highest privilege of the constitution.”

CHAP. VI.

1884.

Enfranchise-  
ment of the  
counties.

## CHAP. VI.

1884.

The provisions of  
the Bill.

Proceeding to describe the provisions of the bill, Mr. Gladstone stated, first, that the "ancient rights" of franchises in boroughs would be left untouched by it; that the household franchise and the lodger franchise of 1867 would also be undisturbed; that the £10 clear yearly value franchise would be extended to land on which there were no houses or buildings; and that it was proposed to create a new franchise, which might be called a "service franchise," and which was intended for persons who were actually inhabitants of a house, but who were not legally either "occupiers" or "tenants." With regard to the county franchise, the £50 franchise would be abolished; the £12 rateable value franchise of 1867 would be reduced to £10 actual value; and the service, lodger, and household franchises of the boroughs would be imported into the counties. The changes thus described for England would be also made, *mutatis mutandis*, in Scotland and Ireland; with the effect that the borough and county franchises for the three kingdoms would be placed on the same footing—the occupation franchise in each kingdom constituting four-fifths of the whole.

The addition  
to the con-  
stituencies.

The addition which it was expected would be made to the constituencies by the bill was thus stated. "In 1832," said Mr. Gladstone, "there

was passed what was considered a *magna charta* of British liberty. That *magna charta* was to have added, according to the estimate of Lord John Russell, half-a-million to the constituencies; in actual fact, it added considerably less than half-a-million. In 1866, the constituencies numbered 1,136,000. By the bills passed between 1867 and 1869, that number was raised to 2,448,000; and now, under the existing law, the constituencies have reached, in round numbers, about 3,000,000. What is the increase that we ask the House to make? The best results I can attain are these. The bill, if it passes as we present it, will add to the English constituency over 1,300,000; to the Scotch constituency, over 200,000; and to the Irish constituency, over 400,000; or, in the main, it will add to the present aggregate constituency, now reckoned at 3,000,000, about 2,000,000 more,—that is, nearly twice as much as was added in 1867–69, and more than four times as much as was added in 1832.”

It will be noticed that, in the above scheme, no reference is made to distribution; and, in fact, Mr. Gladstone emphatically declined to make distribution a part of the bill—“they were not going to deck-load their measure.” This was a ground of contention from the first.

CHAP. VI.

1884.

Distribution  
deferred.

CHAP. VI.

1884.

Amendment  
on the Second  
Reading.Mr. Chamber-  
lain's speech.

When the second reading was proposed, on the twenty-fourth of March—for the first reading had been agreed to without a division—Lord John Manners at once interposed, on behalf of the Opposition, and moved as an amendment that the House would not proceed with the bill until it had before it the full details of the Government scheme—in other words, the Government plan of Redistribution. The debate on this amendment occupied six nights. Perhaps the most remarkable—as it was the boldest—of all the speeches was that of Mr. Chamberlain, who showed how the agricultural labourers had been robbed,—“robbed of their land, robbed of their rights in the commons, robbed of the open spaces by the roadsides, robbed of the endowments intended for their benefit,”—and “all in consequence of the agricultural labourers not having a voice in this House.” As to distribution, the Government thought extension of the suffrage “a good thing in itself,” and therefore they were prepared to “stand by the bill as it stood;” but, of course, Redistribution must speedily follow. Mr. Gladstone held to the same view. Eventually, the amendment was defeated by a majority of one hundred and thirty (340 to 210); and, the bill having been then read a second time, the House adjourned for the Easter holidays.

H. C. L.

On the re-assembling of the House on the twenty-eighth of April, the redistribution question again came up; and several "instructions" to the Committee were moved, with the view of either delaying the bill or forcing the hand of the Government. All these failed, however; their only effect being to exhibit a diversity of opinion in the ranks of the Opposition that seemed likely, at one time, to assume alarming proportions. It was at this time that Lord Randolph Churchill made his appearance in the field, and unfurled his standard of Conservative democracy, with results that may yet appear in the history of the party of which he made himself a conspicuous member.

CHAP. VI.

1884.

Further  
amendments.Lord  
Randolph  
Churchill.

At last, the bill got into Committee, where numerous attempts were made to spoil or at least to hamper it. It would be tedious to recount these attempts in detail. A proposal to leave Ireland out of the scope of the bill was rejected by a majority of one hundred and ninety-five (332 to 137). Another proposal, that the Franchise Bill should come into operation only after a Redistribution Bill had been passed, was negatived (after a strong protest by Mr. Gladstone) by a majority of ninety-four (276 to 182). These amendments came from the Conservative ranks. Two others came from

The Bill in  
Committee.



CHAP. VI.

1884.

among the supporters of the bill,—one from Mr. C. B. M'Laren (member for Stafford), who urged the “one man, one vote” principle as the true means of getting rid of faggot-votes; the other from Mr. W. Woodall (member for Stoke-upon-Trent), in favour of woman suffrage. Both these amendments were rejected by considerable majorities,—the former by one hundred and ninety-two (235 to 43), and the latter by one hundred and thirty-six (273 to 137). It should be added that, on both the proposal of Mr. M'Laren and that of Mr. Woodall, Mr. Gladstone declined to commit himself, except to the extent that those proposals could form no part of the present bill. Both proposals he would be prepared to consider at a more suitable time.

When to  
come into  
operation.

The only other point that was debated with vigour was that of the date at which the bill should come into operation. The Government proposed that it should come into operation as soon as it was passed; but the Opposition and some few of the Liberal party, with a view to making sure that a Redistribution Bill should be passed in the meantime, desired that its operation should be postponed till the first of January, 1887. Ultimately, on the motion of Mr. H. H. Fowler (member for Wolverhampton), the first of January, 1885, was agreed upon,—

the effect of which was that the register on which the new voters were to be enrolled would not be in force till the first of January, 1886.\* This brought the Committee stage practically to an end. Some other attempts at amendment were made, but they were of little general interest, and were wholly unsuccessful. When the bill emerged from Committee, on the twenty-third of June, it was the same bill as had entered that stage nearly two months before.

CHAP. VI.

1884.

On the twenty-sixth of June, the third reading of the bill was proposed by Mr. Gladstone, who took the opportunity of offering a solemn admonition to the House of Peers. Lord Salisbury and others had uttered some brave words out of doors, expressing their confidence that the Peers would reject the bill. The Prime Minister let them know that, in such a case, the attitude of the Government would be in conformity with the latter part of the advice given by Polonius to his son, Laertes—

The Third Reading.

A warning to the Peers.

“Beware

Of entrance to a quarrel ; but, being in,  
Bear it that the opposer may beware of thee.”

This speech was resented by the leader of the

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\* This was modified by the Redistribution Bill of the following year, so as to admit of an election, under the new Suffrage and Distribution Acts, taking place sooner.

CHAP. VI.

1884.

Opposition (Sir Stafford Northcote), as "extraordinary and theatrical," and as having no other object than "to intimidate the House of Lords, and to deter it from resisting the will of a majority of the House of Commons and of an imperious Prime Minister." But the same evening the third reading of the bill was carried without a dissentient vote, though next day two members assured the House that they had raised their voices against it. If they did—and there can be no doubt that they did—they must have been acting in accordance with another portion of the advice of Polonius, and not have given their "thoughts" very much "tongue."

The Peers set  
the Bill aside.

The bill which had cost the House of Commons exactly four months was disposed of by the House of Lords in exactly two days. The second reading was proposed by the Earl of Kimberley in the evening of the sixth of July; in the evening of the seventh, a hostile resolution, moved by Earl Cairns, was carried by a majority of fifty-nine (205 to 146). The resolution was—"That this House, while prepared to concur in any well-considered and complete scheme for the extension of the franchise, does not think it right to assent to the second reading of a bill having for its object a fundamental change in the electoral body, which is not accompanied by

provisions for so apportioning the right to return members as to ensure a true and fair representation of the people, or by any adequate security in the proposals of the Government that the present bill shall not come into operation except as part of an entire scheme."

CHAP. VI.

1884.

It will be seen that this resolution, while it effectually set aside the bill, did not absolutely reject it; and it was still open to the Government to conciliate the Opposition Peers, by at once introducing a Redistribution scheme. This, however, they steadfastly refused to do; though they repeated an offer which had already been made privately to the Conservative leaders, and which had been rejected by them, that, if the bill were read a second time, they would, before it entered into Committee, propose to the two Houses a joint Address to the Crown, pledging both Houses to make Redistribution the first business of the next session. If this compromise had been accepted, the bill would, of course, have obtained its second reading; and Earl Wemyss (formerly Lord Elcho) proposed a resolution in favour of that course. But the Marquis of Salisbury, the Conservative leader, had already declared against all concession. He, at least, would not surrender; he would not discuss Redistribution "with a rope

Effect of the  
resolution.

## CHAP. VI.

1884.

round his neck ; ”\* and, if the Conservative peers gave way, they might find for themselves another leader. The result was the rejection of Lord Wemyss’s resolution by a majority of fifty (182 to 132) ; and, after that, nothing remained but the withdrawal of the bill, with a view to its being re-introduced at an autumn session.

Feeling in the  
country.

Meantime, the defeat of the bill had aroused an intense feeling throughout the country. On the twenty-first of July, a great meeting was held in Hyde Park, attended, it was believed, by upwards of one hundred thousand persons ; and a vast number of these marched in procession through the streets, accompanied by numerous delegates from the home counties. Five days later (on the twenty-sixth of July), Lord Hartington and Mr. Bright addressed an immense gathering in the Pomona Gardens at Manchester ; and on the thirtieth of July, a great meeting of delegates was held in St. James’s Hall, London—consisting for the most part of the same representative men as had attended the Conference at Leeds in the previous autumn—at which the strongest expressions of determination to pass the bill were used by the

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\* The Marquis of Salisbury afterwards denied that he had used this expression ; but he did not deny that he had said something with precisely the same meaning.

speakers, and enthusiastically applauded by the delegates.

CHAP. VI.

1884.

At these meetings, however, and at nearly all that followed, something more than a mere determination to pass the bill was exhibited. At the meeting in St. James's Hall, Mr. John Morley, who presided, used some words respecting the House that had rejected the bill which were instantly caught up by Reformers everywhere. "Be sure," he said, "that no power on earth can separate henceforth the question of mending the House of Commons from the question of mending, or ending, the House of Lords." On the fourth of August, Mr. Bright, speaking at Birmingham, referred to the Lords as "many of them the spawn of the plunder and the wars and the corruption of the dark ages of our country;" and his colleague, Mr. Chamberlain, used even bolder words, "During the last one hundred years the House of Lords has never contributed one iota to popular liberties or popular freedom, or done anything to advance the common weal; and during that time it has protected every abuse and sheltered every privilege. It has denied justice and delayed Reform. It is irresponsible without independence, obstinate without courage, arbitrary without judgment, and arrogant without knowledge."

"Mending, or ending, the House of Lords."

CHAP. VI.

1884.

These meetings were but the beginning of an agitation that lasted for nearly two months. Old men said that 1832 had come back again; though in 1832 it was only in the very largest centres of population that the gatherings at all approached those of 1884. The same resolutions, in substance, were passed everywhere—one a resolution expressive of a determination to pass the bill, and a second resolution condemnatory of the House of Lords. Both resolutions were passed with enthusiasm, but by far the greatest enthusiasm was shown in favour of the second resolution. In very many instances, a strong disposition was manifested to drop the agitation for the Reform of the House of Commons for a time, and to concentrate the whole strength of the Liberal party on one final struggle for the Reform (or, preferably, the extinction) of the Upper House. If Mr. Gladstone had “said the word” at this time, his simple announcement, “I will be your leader,” would have gained for him such a following as no statesman ever had in England. But Mr. Gladstone did not “say the word.” On the contrary, at a magnificent gathering of his constituents which he addressed in Edinburgh, he declined to allow himself to be induced to mix up the question of Reform with any other question, though, if Reform were

Mr. Gladstone's position.

delayed, he did not doubt that the field of controversy would become wider. "For my own part," he added, "it may be the timidity of age—it may be indolence, from which none of us are altogether free; but I own to you that I look with reluctance to entering upon questions of organic change in the constitution of this country, unless and until the moment comes when I can no longer deny their necessity. I do not believe that the House of Lords has as yet placed itself in a position of irretrievable error. I believe it to be possible that it may go back, and may go back with dignity and with honour. If it does, I would rejoice in our having been enabled to obtain an enormous national advantage without the prolonged and almost inextricable conflict that would necessarily beset and encumber the whole question of the franchise if that great controversy came to be mixed up, as to its practical issues, with another question, greater perhaps still, and certainly more difficult."

It will not be supposed that, while these great demonstrations were being made on the part of the Reformers, there were no demonstrations on the other side. The fact was very far otherwise. Fortunately, it was a rather fine summer, and a good many noblemen and gentlemen were induced to throw open their parks, and to

CHAP. VI.

1884.

Conservative  
picnics.



CHAP. VI.

1884.

Fireworks.

issue (some of them for the first time in their lives) a general invitation to the public to enter. Of course, however, by the public was meant the Conservative public ; and it was understood that they were first to take part in a Conservative meeting, and to pass certain Conservative resolutions, and then to take part in other amusements. Occasionally, fireworks were among the other amusements. At a great Conservative gathering in Aston Park, Birmingham, fireworks were to have held a very conspicuous place in the programme ; but some irresponsible individuals got over the park walls, and let off the fireworks a few hours too soon. No doubt some of these demonstrations were attended by large numbers of people. One at Nostell Park, near Wakefield, in Yorkshire, was said by its promoters to have been attended by from one to two hundred thousand persons, though it was afterwards asserted, on what seemed sufficient grounds, that not more than thirty thousand could possibly have found their way there. Whatever the numbers, the question still remains an open one,—how many had gone in order to take part in a political demonstration, and how many looked upon the whole affair as only a pleasant picnic.\*

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\* At Hanley, Mr. Chamberlain described these Conservative gatherings as "trips to country parks, personally

Late in the autumn, when both sides had had enough of demonstrations, the word "compromise" began to be again whispered. A short time before, Lord Salisbury had excited a good deal of indignation among Liberals by suggesting that nothing more should be done until after another appeal to the country. This was interpreted as meaning that the Lords desired to dictate when a dissolution should take place, and the suggestion was resented accordingly. But another speech by Lord Salisbury at Glasgow, though burning with hatred to both the bill and its promoters, led Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain, about the same time, to express their opinion that something might possibly be done to prevent the contention being carried further. . "If," said Lord Hartington, at Rawtenstall, in South-East Lancashire, "Lord Salisbury had said that, upon seeing our Redistribution Bill, and satisfying themselves that it was founded upon fair principles, that it was intended to secure a fair representation irrespec-

CHAP. VI.

1884.

Compromise  
proposed.Lord  
Hartington.

conducted by members of the aristocracy, enlivened by conjurors, nigger minstrels, tight-rope dancing, and pyrotechnics." It was calculated that, altogether, 1277 public gatherings had been held in England, and 235 in Scotland, in favour of Reform; while there had been 184 in England, and 11 in Scotland, in support of the House of Lords.

CHAP. VI.

1884.

tive of party—if he had said that, upon satisfying themselves that the bill was founded upon such principles, and, without pledging themselves to every detail, that it was one which could be made the foundation of a settlement, they would proceed to take up and dispose of the Franchise Bill, relying on the good faith of Ministers and the good sense of Parliament, there would, in such a proposition as that, have been some of the elements of a compromise.”

Mr. Chamberlain.

A few days later, Lord Hartington said something of the same kind at Chatsworth; and Mr. Chamberlain spoke out at Hanley even more distinctly. “Well, then,” he said, “is any amicable settlement at all possible? I do not say that it is not. As long as Lord Salisbury maintains his present position, any transaction with him is impossible. But there may be men in the Tory ranks, who have followed him with some reluctance, and who would not follow him at all if they could feel assured that the scheme of redistribution which we shall produce would be a fair scheme. They might desire to know that it would be a scheme which would proceed upon the ancient lines and upon the old precedents, and which would at any rate approximate to a state of things under which a more equal value than at present should be given to every

vote. Well, I can only say that to such a desire as that it seems to me that every attention should be paid. I think that the Government may give every assurance and every information which is fairly required to satisfy such doubts, providing that it does not jeopardise our main purpose, or do anything to imperil the success of the Franchise Bill."

CHAP. VI.

1884.

Curiously enough, on the very day after Mr. Chamberlain's assurance (the seventh of October) that a very slight concession with regard to the Franchise Bill would justify the production by the Government of their Redistribution proposals, a scheme of Redistribution made its appearance in the *Standard* newspaper, which, by its careful elaboration and minute statistical knowledge, clearly indicated an official origin. It was never known how the *Standard* obtained possession of the scheme, except that it must have been procured through a violation of confidence on the part of some official; but it was subsequently admitted that it reproduced almost accurately the proposals of a Ministerial Committee,—consisting of Lord Hartington, Sir Charles Dilke, and Mr. Shaw Lefevre,—to whom the work of drafting a scheme for formal consideration by the Cabinet had been remitted.

The *Standard*.

From this moment, the agitation gradually

CHAP. VI.  
—  
1884.  
Subsidence  
of the  
agitation.

Mr. Chamber-  
lain's last  
words about  
the Lords.

died down. The scheme had evidently not been drawn on mere party lines; and, while it satisfied the Reform party, it was not seriously objected to by the more moderate of the Conservatives. Lord Salisbury alone remained for the present irreconcilable. "We are asked," he said, "to give the Government a blank cheque, and they in return will give us a cheque without a signature. I do not think that the House of Lords will recede from their position, and I am quite sure that they ought not to do so." It was such defiant utterances as these on the part of the Tory leader, combined with a charge made by Sir Stafford Northcote against Mr. Chamberlain that he had "a spite against the House of Lords," that drew from the latter the taunting reply,—*"I have always thought the House of Lords a very picturesque institution, attractive from its connection with the history of our country. I have no desire to see a dull uniformity of social life, and I am thankful rather than otherwise to gentlemen who will take the trouble of wearing robes and coronets, and who will keep up a certain state and splendour which it is very pleasing to look upon. They are ancient monuments, and I, for one, should be very sorry to deface them. But I cannot admit that we can build upon these interesting*

ruins the foundations of our government. I cannot allow that these antiquities should control the destinies of a free empire."

CHAP. VI.

1884.

On the twenty-third of October, Parliament re-assembled for the winter session. Judging from the debates on the Address, the prospect of a settlement of the Franchise question did not appear very hopeful; and Lord Salisbury said, distinctly, that his opinions had not at all changed, and that they would be found expressed very accurately in the resolution of the previous July. But, after the second reading of the bill—which was carried on the seventh of November, after two nights' debate, by a majority of one hundred and forty (372 to 232)—it became evident that individual opinions or preferences would have to yield to the necessities of the case; and, in fact, communications had been already entered upon, with a view to some possible agreement. The bill passed through its remaining stages in the Commons very quickly. A part only of one evening (that of the tenth of November) was spent in Committee, and next day the third reading was agreed to without a division; so that by the thirteenth of November the bill had been taken up to the House of Lords, and there read a first time.

The Winter session.

Second Reading of the Bill.

The Bill passed.

When the second reading was proposed, four

CHAP. VI.  
—  
1884.  
The Bill in  
the Lords.

Proposals  
by the  
Government.

Opinion  
respecting the  
proposals.

days later, the results of the communications between the two parties began to appear. Lord Granville, on the part of the Administration, offered that, if the bill were read a second time, they would at once lay their Redistribution proposals before the Conservative leaders, and make those proposals the subject of friendly conference, with a view to subsequent combined action. He also undertook that the measure, when framed, should be at once submitted to the House of Commons; and all he asked in return was an assurance that, when that point had been reached, the Franchise Bill should be passed. On this understanding, which met with general approval, the bill was read a second time without a division,—the Committee stage being postponed for a fortnight, in order to allow time for the necessary understanding to be arrived at.

When the situation became known to the public, opinion respecting it was very divided. By some not over-wise Conservatives, the arrangement between the parties was represented as a Conservative triumph; by some too suspicious Liberals, it was regarded as a Liberal surrender. In fact, it was neither of these—it was a compromise;\* and, when the

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\* It was a compromise, however, somewhat resembling that which occasionally takes place in military operations,

respective leaders entered upon that friendly communication which was honourable alike to both parties, it was found, to the gratification and surprise of every one, that the Conservatives were prepared for an even more thorough scheme of Redistribution than the Liberals had thought that they could propose with any chance of its being accepted. Of course, the Liberal leaders were satisfied, if the Conservative leaders were. Sir Stafford Northcote prepared his own supporters for what was to follow, by a speech which he delivered at the Beaconsfield Club on the twenty-fourth of November. "The Conservatives could not expect," he said, "that the great settlement now in hand could be accomplished without considerable changes; and he had no doubt that, when the Redistribution Bill now in preparation was introduced into the House of Commons, many persons would be startled by its proposals, which would appear to be of a very large character. But, on the passing of a bill of this kind, they must take care to

CHAP. VI.

1884.

Attitude of  
the Conserva-  
tives toward  
Redistribu-  
tion.

when a beleaguered garrison is permitted to march out of a citadel with all the honours, but leaves behind it all the spoils. Sir Charles Dilke, speaking at a banquet at the Reform Club on the eighteenth of July, 1885, said (quoting the remark of a friend) that he had always understood that King John signed "Magna Charta." *That*, also, was of the nature of a "compromise."



CHAP. VI.  
1834.

give full and fair play to all the interests of the country, and to bring about a settlement which might be durable and permanent. These alterations in the Representative system of the country ought to be settled on a broad basis, so as to give as little occasion as possible for re-opening the question."

The Redistri-  
bution Bill.

At length, after a brief adjournment, both Houses re-assembled; and Mr. Gladstone, in a very short speech, altogether devoid of rhetorical adornment, moved for leave to bring in the bill which both parties had agreed upon. The bill fully justified the prognostications of Sir Stafford Northcote. It took both Liberals and Conservatives equally by surprise. Whatever opinion might be entertained respecting its provisions when time had been allowed for consideration, it was seen at once that it was, for magnitude, such a measure as had never been brought into an English Parliament before.

Its leading  
features.

The leading features of the bill may be briefly stated. First, by the first schedule, framed upon the principle of totally disfranchising all boroughs with a population up to fifteen thousand, these boroughs, as well as a few rural boroughs, and the corrupt boroughs of Sandwich and Macclesfield, were to be merged into their respective county divisions. Secondly, by the second

schedule, all boroughs with a population up to fifty thousand were to be represented by only one member; and the counties of Rutland and Hereford were each to lose one member. The combined effect of these two schedules was to extinguish about one hundred and sixty seats; but six seats which had been extinguished for some years were to be revived, and several new boroughs were to be created; so that the complete result was to give nearly one hundred and eighty seats for distribution among the counties and the large towns. Of the towns, Liverpool was to have six additional members, Glasgow four, Birmingham four, Manchester three, Leeds two, Sheffield three, etc., while the metropolitan members were to be increased by thirty-seven. As to the counties, Yorkshire was to have sixteen additional members, Lancashire fifteen, Middlesex five, Cork five, Durham four, and Lanarkshire four. The net result was that England would obtain six additional seats, and Scotland twelve additional seats. No change was to be made in the representation of either Ireland or Wales; but everywhere throughout the three kingdoms the system of one member districts was to be adopted both in counties and in boroughs, with the exceptions that existing boroughs with a population of from fifty thousand

CHAP. VI.

1884.

CHAP. VI.

1884.

Second  
Reading.Opinion in  
the country.

to one hundred and sixty-five thousand were to continue to be represented by two members, and the city of London was also to be represented by two members. These were the main provisions of the bill. It was read a second time (almost without debate) on the fourth of December ; and nothing then remained but for the House of Lords to pass the Franchise Bill, which they did on the following day.

During the Christmas holidays, which followed, there was much discussion of the Redistribution Bill, both in the press and throughout the country. The chief ground of difficulty, on the part of the Liberals, was the breaking-up of the large towns into single member districts, which it was thought would not only destroy their unity, but would give undue influence to small parties or coteries ; but it was speedily discovered, by the most thoughtful persons, that the former objection was, after all, more sentimental than real, and that the danger of a degraded representation, if it existed at all, was more than made up for by the varied representation of classes and interests which this portion of the measure was certain to secure.\* On the other

Mr. Cobden.

\* Much impression was produced at this time by the discovery—for to many persons it *was* a discovery—that the principle of single member districts had the great

hand, the equalisation of the ratio of the borough and the county representation was received with all but universal favour; the proposed abolition of the three-cornered constituencies, and the increase of the representation of the large boroughs in proportion to their population, were equally well received; so that, by the time that Parliament re-assembled, there was a general agreement of opinion in favour of the bill as a whole.

CHAP. VI.

1885.

Although the meeting of Parliament took place on the nineteenth of February, the order for the committal of the Redistribution Bill was not reached till the second of March. On that day, Sir John Lubbock (member for the University of London) moved an "instruction" to secure the representation of minorities in one-member constituencies, but this was rejected by 134 to 31; and another "instruction," to

The Bill in  
Committee.

authority of Mr. Cobden in its favour. In a letter to Mr. Bright, dated January 16, 1865, Mr. Cobden wrote:—"It has always appeared to me that the best way to meet the wishes of those who honestly fear that particular classes or bodies of the community may be unrepresented, is to make the electoral districts as diversified as possible. With this view, I would allow each constituency to return one representative. Thus, for instance, if Birmingham had six members, they should be elected by six wards. This would give every section of the community the opportunity of suiting itself" (Morley's "Life of Cobden," vol. ii. p. 461).

CHAP. VI.

1885.

The Bill  
passed.

reduce the number of representatives for Ireland to ninety, and for Wales to twenty-five, was also rejected, by 132 to 25. From the sixth of March to the twenty-first of April the bill remained in Committee. A large number of amendments were proposed, but very few were carried—the agreement between the parties being held to be a bar to all alterations of consequence; and on the eleventh of May the third reading was agreed to. Four days later, the second reading of the bill was agreed to in the Lords; it passed through Committee of that House on the eighth of June; and on the twelfth of June—the very day that Mr. Gladstone announced the resignation of his Ministry, in consequence of a defeat on their Budget—the bill was read a third time, clauses having first been added to enable a General Election to take place, on the registers to be formed on the basis of the present Act and of the Representation of the People Act, at any time after the seventh of November. The bill received the royal assent on the twenty-fifth of June; and Registration Bills for the three kingdoms were passed at the same time.\*

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\* The most important points about which discussions arose on the Registration Bills were the inclusion of the

Thus, the high and distinguishing honour of having passed the third and greatest of the Reforms of Parliament, rests, as another laurel, on the head of Mr. Gladstone. He shares the honour, of course, with his colleagues, and especially with Sir Henry James and Mr. Shaw Lefevre, who greatly assisted him in carrying the Representation of the People Bill, and with Sir Charles Dilke, who was mainly responsible for the passing of the Redistribution Bill. To these younger statesmen—and particularly to the last—their countrymen will look for still further services ; nor will the devout hope cease to be indulged, that the great leader of the Liberal party, notwithstanding that his labours have extended already over more than fifty years, may yet be spared to add to the many and the noble benefactions for which the nation is so deeply indebted to him. What will be

CHAP. VI.  
1885.  
Conclusion.

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University undergraduates, and the inclusion or exclusion of poor voters, who, during the year, had received medical or surgical parochial relief. The former were admitted ; but the latter were rejected by the House of Lords. This defect was subsequently remedied by a special Act ; and, notwithstanding the opposition of the Government (at this time under the premiership of the Marquis of Salisbury), the medical or surgical assistance referred to in the Act was defined to include “all matters or things supplied by or on the recommendation of a medical officer.”

CHAP. VI.  
1885.

the actual results of the latest of the Reform measures, only the future can determine. One thing, at least, is certain—that the results are for the people, and for the people only, to decide. Henceforth, they are all-powerful. Let them prove themselves worthy of the privileges they have won, and use their undoubted authority with mingled moderation and resolution, and another generation will have cause to rejoice over many things as actual possessions, which have seemed hitherto little better than dreams.\*

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\* An abstract of the Acts of 1884 and 1885, with the various Schedules, will be found in the Appendix.

## APPENDIX.

### A.

#### THE REFORM ACTS OF 1832.\*

##### 1. ENGLAND AND WALES.

*An Act to Amend the Representation of the People in England and Wales.*

[2 WILL. IV. c. 45.—7th June, 1832.]

1. Disfranchises the boroughs in Schedule A.
2. Boroughs in Schedule B to return one member only.
3. Boroughs in Schedule C to return two members, and to include respectively the places comprehended within their boundaries, as settled by a future Act.
4. Boroughs in Schedule D to return one member, and to include (as in sec. 3).
5. The boroughs of Shoreham, Cricklade, Aylesbury, and East Retford, to include certain adjacent districts.
6. Weymouth and Melcombe Regis to return two members only.
7. Every English borough to include (as in sec. 3).
8. Places in the first column of Schedule E to share with the places opposite to them in the second column.
10. Swansea, Loughor, Neath, Aberavon, and Kenfig, to form one borough, the electors thereof not to vote with Cardiff.

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\* The following pages contain an *abstract* only of the Reform Acts. Of the Acts of 1832 and 1867, only those sections and schedules are mentioned which are of present interest: the Acts of 1884 and 1885 are given in fuller detail.



12. Six knights of the shire to be elected for Yorkshire,—two for each of the three Ridings.

13. Four knights of the shire to be elected for Lincolnshire,—two for each of the two divisions.

14. Counties in Schedule F to be divided into two divisions,—with two knights for each division.

15. Three knights of the shire (instead of two) to be elected for each of the counties in Schedule F 2; and two (instead of one) for each of the counties of Carmarthen, Denbigh, and Glamorgan.

16. The Isle of Wight to return one member, to be elected by county voters.

18. No person to vote for a county, in respect of any freehold lands or tenements whereof such person may be seised for life, except he be in the actual and *bonâ fide* occupation, or except the same shall have come to him by marriage settlement, demise, or promotion to any benefice or office, or except the same shall be of the clear yearly value of not less than £10; but this not to prevent any person now having, or who but for this Act might acquire, the right of voting, from retaining or acquiring such right, if duly registered.

19. Extends the right of voting in counties to copyholders.

20. Extends the right of voting in counties to leaseholders.

24 and 25. No person to vote for a county in respect of any freehold house, etc., nor as a copyholder or customary tenant, etc., or as lessee, etc., of any house, which would confer the right of voting for any city or borough, whether such right shall have been actually acquired or not.

26. Possession for a certain time, and registration, to be essential to the right of voting for a county; no person to be so registered as a freeholder, etc., unless in the actual possession or in receipt of the rents and profits for his own use for six calendar months at least; nor as lessee, etc., unless in possession or in receipt for twelve months,—an exception being made in the case of property coming by descent, etc.

27. In every city or borough, any occupier, as owner or

tenant, of any house or other building, being, either separately or jointly with any land occupied therewith, under the same landlord, of the clear yearly value of not less than £10, shall, if duly registered, be entitled to vote for such city or borough; but no person shall be so registered who has not occupied for twelve months next previous to the last day of the previous July, or who has not been rated in respect of such premises to all poor-rates, or who has not paid, on or before the 20th of July, all the poor-rates and assessed taxes payable on the sixth of April then next preceding, or who has not resided for six calendar months next previous to the last day of July within the city or borough, or within seven miles thereof.

28. Premises need not be the same premises, but may be different premises occupied in immediate succession.

29. If there be more occupiers than one, each joint-occupier may vote, if the clear yearly value be of an amount which, when divided by the number of such occupiers, shall give a sum of not less than £10 for each occupier.

31 to 33. Existing rights of existing freemen, etc., to be maintained, on certain conditions.

36. No person to be registered in any borough who shall, within twelve calendar months next previous to the last day of July, have received parochial relief or other alms.

62 and 67. Elections, both for counties and for boroughs, to continue for two days only.

78. The Act not to extend to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

#### SCHEDULE A.

*Boroughs to cease to send <sup>one</sup> Members to Parliament.* 56

<i>Borough.</i>	<i>County.</i>	<i>Borough.</i>	<i>County.</i>
Old Sarum	Wiltshire.	Bossiney	Cornwall.
Newtown	Isle of Wight.	Dunwich	Suffolk.
St. Michaels	Cornwall.	Ludgershall	Wiltshire.
Gatton	Surrey.	St. Mawes	Cornwall.
Bramber	Sussex.	Beeralston	Devonshire.

<i>Borough.</i>	<i>County.</i>	<i>Borough.</i>	<i>County.</i>
West Looe	Cornwall.	Newton	Lancashire.
St. Germans	Cornwall.	Ilchester	Somersetshire.
Newport	Cornwall.	Boroughbridge	Yorkshire.
Blechingley	Surrey.	Stockbridge	Hampshire.
Aldborough	Yorkshire.	New Romney	Kent.
Camelford	Cornwall.	Hedon	Yorkshire.
Hindon	Wiltshire.	Plympton	Devonshire.
East Looe	Cornwall.	Seaford	Sussex.
Corfe Castle	Dorsetshire.	Heytesbury	Wiltshire.
Great Bedwin	Wiltshire.	Steyning	Sussex.
Yarmouth	Ile of Wight.	Whitchurch	Hampshire.
Queenborough	Kent.	Wootton Bassett	Wiltshire.
Castle Rising	Norfolk.	Downton	Wiltshire.
East Grinstead	Sussex.	Fowey	Cornwall.
Higham Ferrers	Northamptonshire.	Milborne Port	Somersetshire.
Wendover	Buckinghamshire.	Aldeburgh	Suffolk.
Weobly	Herefordshire.	Minehead	Somersetshire.
Winchelsea	Sussex.	Bishop's Castle	Shropshire.
Tregony	Cornwall.	Okehampton	Devonshire.
Haslemere	Surrey.	Appleby	Westmoreland.
Saltash	Cornwall.	Lostwithiel	Cornwall.
Orford	Suffolk.	Brackley	Northamptonshire.
Callington	Cornwall.	Amersham	Buckinghamshire.

## SCHEDULE B.

*Boroughs to return one Member. instead of 2. 30.*

<i>Borough.</i>	<i>County.</i>	<i>Borough.</i>	<i>County.</i>
Petersfield	Hampshire.	Liskeard	Cornwall.
Ashburton	Devonshire.	Reigate	Surrey.
Eye	Suffolk.	Hythe	Kent.
Westbury	Wiltshire.	Droitwich	Worcestershire.
Wareham	Dorsetshire.	Lyme Regis	Dorsetshire.
Midhurst	Sussex.	Launceston	Cornwall.
Woodstock	Oxfordshire.	Shaftesbury	Dorsetshire.
Wilton	Wiltshire.	Thirsk	Yorkshire.
Malmesbury	Wiltshire.	Christchurch	Hampshire.

<i>Borough.</i>	<i>County.</i>	<i>Borough.</i>	<i>County.</i>
Horsham	Sussex.	Morpeth	Northumber-
Great Grimsby	Lincolnshire.		land.
Calne	Wiltshire.	Halston	Cornwall.
Arundel	Sussex.	Northallerton	Yorkshire.
St. Ives	Cornwall.	Wallingford	Berkshire.
Rye	Sussex.	Dartmouth	Devonshire.
Clitheroe	Lancashire.		

## SCHEDULE C.

*New Boroughs to return two Members. 22.*

<i>Borough.</i>	<i>County.</i>	<i>Borough.</i>	<i>County.</i>
Manchester	Lancashire.	Lambeth	Surrey.
Birmingham	Warwickshire.	Bolton	Lancashire.
Leeds	Yorkshire.	Bradford	Yorkshire.
Greenwich	Kent.	Blackburn	Lancashire.
Sheffield	Yorkshire.	Brighton	Sussex.
Sunderland	Durham.	Halifax	Yorkshire.
Devonport	Devonshire.	Macclesfield	Cheshire.
Wolverhampton	Staffordshire.	Oldham	Lancashire.
Tower Hamlets	Middlesex.	Stockport	Cheshire.
Finsbury	Middlesex.	Stoke-upon-	
Marylebone	Middlesex.	Trent	Staffordshire.
		Stroud	Gloucestershire.

## SCHEDULE D.

*New Boroughs to return one Member. 20*

<i>Borough.</i>	<i>County.</i>	<i>Borough.</i>	<i>County.</i>
Ashton - under -		Salford	Lancashire.
Lyne	Lancashire.	South Shields	Durham.
Bury	Lancashire.	Tynemouth	Northumber-
Chatham	Kent.		land.
Cheltenham	Gloucestershire.	Wakefield	Yorkshire.
Dudley	Worcestershire.	Walsall	Staffordshire.
Frome	Somersetshire.	Warrington	Lancashire.
Gateshead	Durham.	Whitby	Yorkshire.
Huddersfield	Yorkshire.	Whitehaven	Cumberland.
Kidderminster	Worcestershire.	Merthyr Tydvil	Glamorgan-
Kendal	Westmoreland.		shire.
Rochdale	Lancashire.		

## SCHEDULE E.

*Places sharing in the Election of Members.*

Amlwch, Holyhead, and Llangefni .. .. .	.. .. .	sharing with Beaumaris, in Anglesea.
Aberystwith, Lampeter, and Adpar .. .. .	.. .. .	Cardigan, in Cardigan- shire.
Llanelly .. .. .	.. .. .	Carmarthen, in Carmar- thenshire.
Pwllheli, Nevin, Conway, Bangor, and Criccieth ..	.. .. .	Carnarvon, in Carnar- vonshire.
Ruthin, Holt, and the town of Wrexham .. .. .	.. .. .	Denbigh, in Denbigh- shire.
Rhyddlan, Overton, Caer- wis, Caergwrley, St. Asaph, Holywell, and Mold .. .. .	.. .. .	Flint, in Flintshire.
Cowbridge and Llantrissant	.. .. .	Cardiff, in Glamorgan- shire.
Llanidloes, Welshpool, Machynlleth, Llanfyllin, and Newtown.. .. .	.. .. .	Montgomery, in Mont- gomeryshire.
Narberth and Fishguard ..	.. .. .	Haverfordwest, in Pem- brokeshire.
Tenby, Wiston, and the town of Milford .. .. .	.. .. .	Pembroke, in Pembroke- shire.
Knighton, Rhayder, Kev- inleece, Knucklas, and the town of Presteign ..	.. .. .	Radnor, in Radnorshire.

## SCHEDULE F.

*Counties to be divided into two divisions, and to return  
two Members for each division.*

Cheshire	Derbyshire	Essex	Hampshire
Cornwall	Devonshire	Gloucestershire	Lancashire
Cumberland	Durham	Kent	Leicestershire

Norfolk	Nottingham-	Staffordshire	Warwickshire
Northumberland	shire	Suffolk	Wiltshire
Northampton-	Shropshire	Surrey	Worcestershire
shire	Somersetshire	Sussex	

## SCHEDULE F 2.

*Counties to return three Members each.*

Berkshire	Cambridgeshire	Herefordshire	Oxfordshire
Buckinghamshire	Dorsetshire	Hertfordshire	

## 2. SCOTLAND.

*An Act to Amend the Representation of the People in Scotland.*

[2 and 3 WILL. IV. c. 65.—17th July, 1832.]

1. Enacts that that there shall be fifty-three representatives for Scotland, of whom thirty shall be for several or conjoined shires or stewartries, and twenty-three for cities, burghs, and towns, or districts of cities, burghs, and towns, hereinafter enumerated.

2. Burghs of Peebles and Selkirk to be held as parts of the counties of Peebles and Selkirk; burgh of Rothesay to form part of Bute.

3. One member to be returned by each of the separate shires or parts of shires in Schedule A; and one by each two of the combined shires or parts of shires in Schedule B.

4. Two members to be returned by each of the separate cities, etc., in Schedule C; one by each of the separate cities, etc., in Schedule D; and one by each district or set of cities, etc., in Schedule E.

The other provisions of the Act correspond, in the main, with those of the Act for England and Wales.

## SCHEDULE A.

*Counties to return one Member each.*

Aberdeen	Banff	Caithness
Argyll	Berwick	Dumbarton
Ayr	Bute	Dumfries

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Edinburgh	Peebles	Roxburgh
Fife	Perth (exclusive of	Selkirk
Forfar	the parishes of Tul-	Stirling (exclusive
Haddington	liallan, Culross,	of the parish of
Inverness	Muckhart, Logie,	Alva, annexed to
Kincardine	and Fossaway, an-	Kinross, etc., by
Kirkcudbright	nexed to Kinross	Schedule B)
Lanark	and Clackmannan	Sutherland
Linlithgow	by Schedule B)	Wigton
Orkney and Shetland	Renfrew	

## SCHEDULE B.

*Combined Counties, each two to return one Member.*

Elgin and Nairn ; Ross and Cromarty ; Clackmannan and Kinross, together with that part of Perthshire which constitutes the parishes of Tulliallan, Culross, and Muckhart, and the Perthshire portions of the parishes of Logie and Fossaway, and that part of Stirlingshire which constitutes the parish of Alva.

## SCHEDULE C.

*Towns to return two Members each.*

Edinburgh

Glasgow

## SCHEDULE D.

*Towns to return one Member each.*

Aberdeen, Paisley, Dundee, Greenock, and Perth.

## SCHEDULE E.

*Combined Burghs and Towns, each set or district to return one Member.*

1. Kirkwall, Wick, Dornock, Dingwall, Tain, and Cromarty.
2. Fortrose, Inverness, Nairn, and Forres.
3. Elgin, Cullen, Banff, Inverury, Kintore, and Peterhead.
4. Inverburvie, Montrose, Aberbrothwick, Brechin, and Forfar.
5. Cupar, St. Andrews, Anstruther Easter, Anstruther Wester, Crail, Kilrenny, and Pittenween.
6. Dysart, Kirkcaldy, Kinghorn, and Burntisland.
7. Inverkeithing, Dunfermline, Queensferry, Culross, and Stirling.

8. Renfrew, Rutherglen, Dumbarton, Kilmarnock, and Port Glasgow.
9. Haddington, Dunbar, North Berwick, Lauder, and Jedburgh.
10. Leith, Portobello, and Musselburgh.
11. Linlithgow, Lanark, Falkirk, Airdrie, and Hamilton.
12. Ayr, Irvine, Campbelltown, Inverary, and Oban.
13. Dumfries, Sanquhar, Annan, Lochmaben, and Kirkcudbright.
14. Wigton, New Galloway, Stranraer, and Whithorn.

### 3. IRELAND.

*An Act to Amend the Representation of the People in Ireland.*

[2 and 3 WILL. IV. c. 88.—7th August, 1832.]

1. Confers the right of voting in counties on leaseholders.
2. Confers the right of voting in counties on copyholders.
5. The right of voting in counties of cities and towns to be enjoyed by freeholders having a beneficial interest of the clear yearly value of £10, and such lessees or assignees as might vote for the county, and occupiers as tenants or owners of any house, etc., if duly registered, and if such tenants or owners have occupied for the six calendar months next previous to the time of registry, and have discharged all grand jury and municipal cesses above one half-year's amount of such cesses.
6. Forty shilling freeholders, entitled to register as such, to retain (so long as seised of the same lands or tenements) the right of voting in respect thereof.
7. Gives a right of voting in boroughs, as in the 27th section of the English Act; with a proviso for occupation, as in the 5th section of this Act.
11. The cities of Limerick and Waterford, the borough of Belfast, the county of the town of Galway, and the University of Dublin, each respectively to return one additional member.
52. Polls to commence on the day the same shall be demanded, and to proceed regularly from day to day for so



many hours as the returning officer now keeps the poll open in counties, but so that no poll shall continue more than five days at the most.

58. Polls to close when no more than twenty persons have polled during the day; but if it shall appear to the returning officer that any voters have been prevented by force or violence from coming to the poll, then the returning officer may keep such poll open for another day, and so on from day to day, if such force or violence be repeated.

The other provisions of the Act correspond, in the main, with those of the Act for England and Wales, with some variations in the mode of registration.

## B.

### THE REFORM ACTS OF 1867 and 1868.

#### 1. ENGLAND AND WALES.

*An Act further to Amend the Laws relating to the Representation of the People in England and Wales.*

[30 and 81 Vic. c. 102.—15th August, 1867.]

3. Gives the right of voting in boroughs to every man of full age, and not subject to any legal incapacity, who is, on the last day of July in any year, and has during the whole of the preceding twelve calendar months been, an inhabitant occupier, as owner or tenant, of any dwelling-house within the borough; provided that such occupier has, during the time of such occupation, been rated to all rates made for the relief of the poor, and has, on or before the 20th of July, paid such rates as have become due from him up to the preceding 5th of January; provided also that no man shall under this section be entitled to be registered as a voter by reason of his being a joint occupier.

4. Gives the right of voting in boroughs to every man of full age, etc., who, as a lodger, has occupied in the same borough separately and as sole tenant for the twelve months

preceding the last day of July in any year the same lodgings, such lodgings being part of one and the same dwelling-house, and of a clear yearly value, if let unfurnished, of £10 or upwards; but such lodger must have resided in such lodgings during the twelve months, and must have claimed to be registered at the next ensuing registration.

5. Gives the right of voting (in counties) to every man of full age, etc., who is seised at law or in equity of any lands or tenements, freehold, copyhold, or leasehold, etc., of the clear yearly value of not less than £5; provided that no person shall be registered as a voter under this section unless he has complied with the provisions of the twenty-sixth section of the Act of 1832. p. 105

6. Gives the right of voting in counties to every man of full age, etc., who is, on the last day of July in any year, and has during the twelve months immediately preceding been, the occupier, as owner or tenant, of lands or tenements within the county of the rateable value of £12 or upwards; provided that such occupier has, during the time of such occupation, been rated to all rates made for the relief of the poor, and has, on or before the 20th of July, paid all such rates as have become due from him up to the preceding 5th of January.

7 and 8. Provides for occupiers in boroughs to be rated and registered, and not owners.

9. At a contested election for any county or borough represented by three members, no person to vote for more than two candidates.

10. At a contested election for the city of London, no person to vote for more than three candidates.

11. No elector to vote who within six months before or during any election shall have been hired for any of the purposes of the election, or on behalf of any candidate.

12. The boroughs of Totnes, Reigate, Great Yarmouth, and Lancaster, to be disfranchised for bribery and treating.

13 to 16. The persons convicted of corruption in the above boroughs to be deprived also of any rights of voting in their respective counties.

17. The boroughs in Schedule A (having a population of less than ten thousand at the census of 1861) to return henceforth only one member.

18. Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, and Leeds, to return henceforth three members.

19. The new boroughs in Schedule B to return one member, with the exception of Chelsea, which is to return two members.

21. The boroughs of Merthyr Tydvil and Salford to return henceforth two members ; and the borough of the Tower Hamlets to be divided into two boroughs, each returning two members, and known as the borough of Hackney and the borough of the Tower Hamlets respectively.

23. The counties in the first column of Schedule D to be divided into the divisions named in the second column of the Schedule, each of the divisions to return two members.

24. The University of London to return one member.

The Act contains a number of other sections, most of which have to do either with registration, with the places for election and polling places, or with the mode of proceeding at an election for the University of London ; but there are several other important provisions, viz., (36) that, except in the boroughs of East Retford, Shoreham, Cricklade, Much Wenlock, and Aylesbury, payment of money on account of the conveyance of voters to the poll in boroughs is to be henceforth unlawful ; (40) that the receipt of parochial relief is to be henceforth a disqualification in counties as well as in boroughs ; (51) that at any future demise of the Crown the Parliament in being shall not be determined or dissolved by such demise, but shall continue as long as it would have continued but for such demise, unless it should be sooner prorogued or dissolved by the Crown ; and (52) that where a person has been returned as a member to serve in Parliament since the acceptance by him from the Crown of any office described in Schedule H, the subsequent acceptance by him of any other office or offices described in the Schedule, in lieu of, and in immediate succession the one to the other, shall not vacate his seat.

658 *as before*

SCHEDULE A. 38

*Boroughs to return henceforth only one Member.*

<i>Borough.</i>	<i>County.</i>	<i>Borough.</i>	<i>County.</i>
Honiton	Devonshire.	Huntingdon	Huntingdon-
Thetford	Norfolk.		shire.
Wells	Somersetshire.	Maldon	Essex.
Evesham	Worcester-	Buckingham	Buckingham-
	shire.		shire.
Marlborough	Wiltshire.	Newport	Isle of Wight.
Harwich	Essex.	New Malton	Yorkshire.
Richmond	Yorkshire.	Tavistock	Devonshire.
Lymington	Hampshire.	Lewes	Sussex.
Chippenham	Wiltshire.	Cirencester	Gloucestershire.
Bridport	Dorsetshire.	Bodmin	Cornwall.
Stamford	Lincolnshire.	Great Marlow	Buckingham-
Wycombe	Buckingham-		shire.
	shire.	Devizes	Wiltshire.
Poole	Dorsetshire.	Hertford	Hertfordshire.
Knaresborough	Yorkshire.	Dorchester	Dorsetshire.
Andover	Hampshire.	Lichfield	Staffordshire.
Leominster	Herefordshire.	Cockermouth	Cumberland.
Tewkesbury	Gloucester-	Bridgenorth	Shropshire.
	shire.	Guildford	Surrey.
Ludlow	Shropshire.	Chichester	Sussex.
Ripon	Yorkshire.	Windsor	Berkshire.

SCHEDULE B.

*Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds*

*New Boroughs to return one Member (except Chelsea, which is to return two Members).*

<i>Borough.</i>	<i>County.</i>	<i>Borough.</i>	<i>County.</i>
Chelsea	Middlesex.	Wednesbury	Staffordshire.
Darlington	Durham.	(including	
Hartlepool	Durham.	W. Bromwich	
Stockton	Durham.	and Tipton)	
Burnley	Lancashire.	Middlesbrough	Yorkshire.
Stalybridge	Lancashire and	Dewsbury	Yorkshire.
	Cheshire.	Gravesend	Kent.

## SCHEDULE D.

*Counties to be divided into divisions, each division to return two Members.*

Cheeshire	..	to be divided into	East, Mid, and West Cheeshire.
Derbyshire	..	„ „	North, East, and South Derbyshire.
Devonshire	..	„ „	North, East, and South Devonshire.
Essex	..	„ „	East, South, and West Essex.
Kent	..	„ „	East, Mid, and West Kent.
Lancashire	..	„ „	North, North-East, South-East, and South-West Lancashire.
Lincolnshire	„	„ „	North, Mid, and South Lincolnshire.
Norfolk	..	„ „	North, West, and South Norfolk.
Somersetshire	„	„ „	East, Mid, and West Somersetshire.
Staffordshire	„	„ „	North, East, and West Staffordshire.
Surrey	..	„ „	East, Mid, and West Surrey.
Yorkshire (W. Riding)	„	„	A Northern, a Mid, and a Southern Division.

## SCHEDULE H.

*Offices of Profit referred to in Section 52.*

Lord High Treasurer; Commissioner for executing the offices of Treasurer of the Exchequer of Great Britain and Lord High Treasurer of Ireland; President of the Privy Council; Vice-President of the Committee of Council for Education; Comptroller of Her Majesty's Household; Treasurer of Her Majesty's Household; Vice-Chamberlain of Her Majesty's Household; Equerry or Groom-in-waiting on Her Majesty; any principal Secretary of State; Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of Her Majesty's Exchequer; Paymaster General; Postmaster General; Lord High Admiral; Commissioner for Executing the office of Lord High Admiral; Commissioner of Her Majesty's Works and Public Buildings; President of the Committee of Council for Trade and Plantations; Chief Secretary for Ireland; Commissioner for Administering the Laws for the Relief of the Poor in England;

Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster ; Judge Advocate General ; Attorney General for England ; Solicitor General for England ; Lord Advocate for Scotland ; Solicitor General for Scotland ; Attorney General for Ireland ; Solicitor General for Ireland.

## 2. SCOTLAND.

*An Act for the Amendment of the Representation of the People in Scotland.*

[31 and 32 Vic. c. 48.—13th July, 1868.]

The franchise is fixed for burghs at the same rate and on the same terms as in England ; in counties the occupation tenure is £14 or upwards as appearing on the valuation rolls of the county ; all the other provisions are in effect the same as in the English Act, modified only so as to adapt them to the legal forms of Scotland.

Additional seats are given,—one to the Universities of St. Andrews and Edinburgh jointly ; one to the Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen jointly ; one to the city of Glasgow, which is henceforth to return three members, but no elector to vote for more than two candidates.

The counties of Lanark, Ayr, and Aberdeen are divided, each division to return one member, and Dundee is to return two members ; the counties of Selkirk and Peebles are united, losing a member, which is given to the grouped burghs of Selkirk, Hawick, and Galashiels. Aberdeenshire is divided into East and West ; Ayrshire into North and South ; and Lanarkshire into North and South.

To make room for these additions, the English boroughs of Arundel, Ashburton, Dartmouth, Honiton, Lyme Regis, Thetford, and Wells, are wholly disfranchised.

## 3. IRELAND.

*An Act to Amend the Representation of the People in Ireland.*

[31 and 32 Vic. c. 49.—13th July, 1868.]

In this Act, the occupation franchise in towns is reduced from £8 to £4, and for lodgers it is fixed at a clear annual

value of £10 unfurnished. (In 1850, the county franchise in Ireland had been reduced to £12, and the borough franchise to £8.) No alteration is made in the distribution of seats.

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C.

THE REFORM ACTS OF 1884 and 1885.

I. THE REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE ACT.

*An Act to Amend the Law relating to the Representation of the People in the United Kingdom.*

[48 VIC. c. 3.—6th December, 1884.]

1. This Act to be known as the Representation of the People Act, 1884.

2. A uniform household franchise and a uniform lodger franchise are established in all counties and boroughs throughout the United Kingdom.

3. Where a man himself inhabits any dwelling-house by virtue of any office, service, or employment, and the dwelling-house is not inhabited by any person under whom such man serves in such office, etc., he is to be deemed for the purpose of this Act and of the Representation of the People Acts an inhabitant occupier of such dwelling-house as a tenant.

4. Subject to the saving in this Act for existing voters, the following provisions are made with reference to elections:—(1) A man shall not be entitled to be registered as a voter in respect of the ownership of any rent-charge except the owner of the whole of the tithe rent-charge of a rectory, vicarage, chapelry, or benefice, to which an apportionment of tithe rent-charge shall have been made in respect of any portion of tithes. (2) Where two or more men are owners, either as joint tenants or as tenants in common, of an estate in any land or tenement, one of such men, but not more than one, shall, if his interest is sufficient to confer on him

a qualification as a voter in respect of the ownership of such estate, be entitled (in the like cases and subject to the like conditions as if he were the sole owner) to be registered as a voter, and, when registered, to vote at an election; provided that where such owners have derived their interest by descent, succession, marriage, marriage settlement, or will, or where they occupy the land or tenement, and are *bonâ fide* engaged as partners carrying on trade or business thereon, each of such owners whose interest is sufficient to confer on him a qualification as a voter shall be entitled (in the like cases and subject to the like conditions as if he were the sole owner) to be registered as a voter in respect of such ownership, and, when registered, to vote at an election; and the value of the interest of each such owner, where not otherwise legally defined, shall be ascertained by the division of the total value of the land or tenement equally among the whole of such owners.

5. Every man occupying any land or tenement in a county or borough in the United Kingdom of a clear yearly value of not less than £10 to be entitled to be registered as a voter, and, when registered, to vote at an election for such county or borough in respect of such occupation, subject to the like conditions respectively as a man is, at the passing of this Act, entitled to be registered as a voter and to vote at an election for such county in respect of the county occupation franchise, and at an election for such borough in respect of the borough occupation franchise.

6. A man is not, by virtue of this Act, to be entitled to be registered as a voter, or to vote, at any election for a county in respect of the occupation of any dwelling-house, lodgings, land, or tenement, situate in a borough.

7. Defines household and lodger qualification and other franchises, and the application of enactments relating thereto. (1) In this Act, the expression "a household qualification" means, as respects England and Ireland, the qualification enacted by the third section of the Representation of the People Act, 1867, and the enactments amending or affecting



the same;\* and the said section and enactments, so far as they are consistent with this Act, are to extend to counties in England, and to counties and boroughs in Ireland. (2) In the construction of the said enactments, as amended and applied to Ireland, the following dates are to be substituted for the dates therein mentioned; that is to say, the twelve calendar months during which a householder must have occupied his dwelling-house in order to entitle him to a vote will, in Ireland, expire on the 20th of July, instead of on the 15th, as in England; the payment of rates must, in Ireland, be made on or before the 1st of July, instead of on the 20th, as in England; and the period up to which the rates due must be paid is, in Ireland, fixed at the 1st of January, instead of the 5th of January, as in England. (8) The expression "a lodger qualification" means the qualification enacted, as respects England, by the fourth section of the Representation of the People Act, 1867, and the enactments amending or affecting the same, and, as respects Ireland, by the fourth section of the Representation of the People (Ireland) Act, 1868, and the enactments amending or affecting the same; and the said section of the English Act of 1867, and the enactments amending or affecting the same, are, so far as they are consistent with this Act, to extend to counties in England, and the said section of the Irish Act of 1867, and the enactments amending or affecting the same,† are, so far

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\* The most important "amending" Act is the Parliamentary and Municipal Registration Act, 1878, the fifth section of which provides that "the term 'dwelling-house' shall include any part of a house where that part is separately occupied as a dwelling."

† The most important "amending" Act is the Parliamentary and Municipal Registration Act, 1878, the fifth section of which provides that "the term 'lodgings' shall include any apartments or place of residence, whether furnished or unfurnished, in a dwelling-house." The sixth section of the same Act provides (1) that lodgings occupied by a person in any year or two successive years shall not be deemed to be different lodgings by reason only that in that year or either of those years he has occupied some other rooms or place in addition to his original lodgings; (2) that for the purpose of qualifying a lodger to vote the occupation in immediate succession of different lodgings of the requisite value in the same house shall have the same effect as continued occupation of the same lodgings; (3) that when lodgings

as they are consistent with this Act, to extend to counties in Ireland. (4 and 5) The terms "a household qualification" and "a lodger qualification" are similarly defined as respects Scotland. (6 and 7) The terms "county occupation franchise" and "borough occupation franchise" are also defined. The expression "county occupation franchise" means, as respects England, the franchise enacted by the sixth section of the Representation of the People Act, 1867; as respects Scotland, the franchise enacted by the Representation of the People Act (Scotland), 1868; and, as respects Ireland, the franchise enacted by the Act of 13 and 14 Vic. c. 69.\* The expression "borough occupation franchise" means, as respects England, the franchise enacted by the twenty-seventh section of the Act of 1832; as respects Scotland, by the Act of 1832; and, as respects Ireland, by the Act of 13 and 14 Vic. c. 69, and by the Representation of the People Act, 1868.†

8. Defines the terms "Representation of the People Acts" and "Registration Acts." (1) In this Act, the expression "the Representation of the People Acts" means the enactments for the time being in force in England, Scotland, and Ireland respectively, relating to the representation of the people, inclusive of the Registration Acts as defined by this Act. (2) The expression "the Registration Acts" means the enactments for the time being in force in England, Scotland,

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are jointly occupied by more than one lodger, and the clear yearly value of the lodgings, if let unfurnished, is of an amount which, when divided by the number of the lodgers, gives a sum of not less than £10 for each lodger, then each lodger (if otherwise qualified, and subject to the conditions of the Representation of the People Act, 1867) shall be entitled to be registered, and, when registered, to vote as a lodger, provided that not more than two persons being such joint lodgers shall be entitled to be registered in respect of such lodgings.

\* By this Act, occupiers of land rated to the poor rate at a net annual value of £12 or upwards, and duly registered, were entitled to vote for counties in Ireland. By the fifth section of the present Act, £10 is substituted for £12.

† The first of these Acts created an £8 rating franchise, which, by the second, was reduced to £4. By the fifth section of the present Act, the amount is fixed at £10.

and Ireland respectively, relating to the registration of persons entitled to vote at elections for counties and boroughs, inclusive of the Rating Acts as defined by this Act. (3) The expressions "the Representation of the People Acts" and "the Registration Acts" respectively, where used in this Act, are to be read distributively, in reference to the three parts of the United Kingdom, as meaning in the case of each part the enactments for the time being in force in that part. (4) All enactments of the Registration Acts which relate to the registration of persons entitled to vote in boroughs in England in respect of a household or of a lodger qualification, and in boroughs of Ireland in respect of a lodger qualification, are, with the necessary variations, to extend to counties as well as to boroughs. (5) All enactments of the Registration Acts which relate to the registration in counties and boroughs in Ireland of persons entitled to vote in respect of the county occupation franchise and the borough occupation franchise respectively, are, with the necessary variations, to extend respectively to the registration in counties and boroughs in Ireland of persons entitled to vote in respect of the household qualification conferred by this Act. (6) In Scotland, all enactments of the Registration Acts which relate to the registration of persons entitled to vote in burghs, including the provisions relating to dates, are, with the necessary variations, to extend and apply to counties as well as to burghs; and the enactments of the said Acts which relate to the registration of persons entitled to vote in counties are, so far as inconsistent with the enactments so applied, to be repealed; provided that in counties the valuation rolls, registers, and lists are to continue to be arranged in parishes as heretofore.

9. Contains the definition and application of the Rating Acts. (1) In this Act, the expression "the Rating Acts" means the enactments for the time being in force in England, Scotland, and Ireland respectively, relating to the placing of the names of occupiers on the rate book, or other enactments relating to rating in so far as they are auxiliary to or deal with

the registration of persons entitled to vote at elections; and the expression "the Rating Acts," where used in this Act, is to be read distributively, in reference to the three parts of the United Kingdom, as meaning in the case of each part the Acts for the time being in force in that part. (2) In every part of the United Kingdom it is to be the duty of the overseers, etc., annually, in the months of April and May, or one of them, to inquire or ascertain with respect to every hereditament which comprises any dwelling-house or dwelling-houses within the meaning of the Representation of the People Acts, whether any man, other than the owner or other person rated or liable to be rated in respect of such hereditament, is entitled to be registered as a voter in respect of his being an inhabitant occupier of any such dwelling-house, and to enter in the rate book the name of every man so entitled, and the situation or description of the dwelling-house in respect of which he is entitled, and for the purposes of such entry a separate column is to be added to the rate book. (3) For the purpose of the execution of such duty, the overseers, etc., may serve on the person who is the occupier or rated or liable to be rated in respect of such hereditament, or on some agent of such person, a requisition for the necessary information on a form to be supplied for that purpose; and if any such person or agent fails to comply with such requisition within twenty-one days after such service, he is to be liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding forty shillings, and any overseer who fails to perform his duty under this section is also to be liable to a fine not exceeding forty shillings for each default. (4) The notice in this section may be served in manner provided by the Representation of the People Acts with respect to the service on occupiers of notice of non-payment of rates; and, where a body of persons, corporate or unincorporate, is rated, such notice is to be served on the secretary or agent of such body of persons; and where the hereditament, by reason of belonging to the Crown or otherwise, is not rated, such notice is to be served on the chief local officer having the superin-

tendence or control of such hereditament. (5) In the application of this section to Scotland, the expression "rate book" means the valuation roll; and where a man entered on the valuation roll by virtue of this section inhabits a dwelling-house by virtue of any office, service, or employment, there is not to be entered in the valuation roll any rent or value against the name of such man as applicable to such dwelling-house, nor shall any such man by reason of such entry become liable to be rated in respect of such dwelling-house. (6) The proviso in section two of the Act 17 and 18 Vic. c. 91 for the valuation of lands and heritages in Scotland, and section fifteen of the Representation of the People (Scotland) Act, 1868, are repealed; provided that in any county in Scotland the commissioners of supply, or the parochial board of any parish, or any other rating authority entitled to impose assessments according to the valuation roll, may, if they think fit, levy such assessments in respect of lands and heritages separately let for a shorter period than one year, or at a rent not amounting to four pounds per annum, in the same manner and from the same persons as if the names of the tenants and occupiers of such lands and heritages were not inserted in the valuation roll. (7) In Ireland, where the owner of a dwelling-house is rated instead of the occupier, the occupier is nevertheless to be entitled to be registered as a voter, and to vote, under the same conditions under which an occupier of a dwelling-house in England is entitled to be registered as a voter, and to vote, where the owner is rated. (8) Both in England and in Ireland, where a man inhabits any dwelling-house by virtue of any office, service, or employment, and is deemed for the purposes of this Act and of the Representation of the People Acts to be an inhabitant occupier of such dwelling-house as a tenant, and another person is rated or liable to be rated for such dwelling-house, the rating of such other person is, for the purposes of this Act and of the Representation of the People Acts, to be deemed to be that of the inhabitant occupier. (9) In any part of the United Kingdom, where a

man inhabits a dwelling-house in respect of which no person is rated, by reason of such dwelling-house belonging to or being occupied on behalf of the Crown, or by reason of any other ground of exemption, such person is not to be disentitled to be registered as a voter, and to vote, by reason only that no one is rated in respect of such dwelling-house, and that no rates are paid in respect of the same; and it shall be the duty of the persons making out the rate book or valuation roll to enter any such dwelling-house as last aforesaid in the rate book or valuation roll, together with the name of the inhabitant occupier thereof.

10. Nothing in this Act is to deprive any person (who at the date of the passing of this Act is registered in respect of any qualification to vote for any county or borough) of his right to be from time to time registered and to vote for such county or borough in respect of such qualification as if this Act had not passed; provided that where a man is so registered in respect of the county or borough occupation franchise by virtue of a qualification which also qualifies him for the franchise under this Act, he is to be entitled to be registered in respect of such latter franchise only; and that nothing in this Act is to confer on any man who is subject to any legal incapacity any right to be registered as a voter or to vote.

11. This Act, so far as may be consistently with the tenor thereof, is to be construed as one with the Representation of the People Acts as defined by this Act; and the expressions "election," "county," and "borough," and other expressions in this Act and in the enactments applied by this Act, shall have the same meaning as in the said Acts. Provided that in this Act and the said enactments—(1) the expression "overseers" includes assessors, guardians, clerks of unions, or other persons by whatever name known, who perform duties in relation to rating or to the registration of voters similar to those performed in relation to such matters by overseers in England; (2) the expression "rent charge" includes a fee farm rent, a feu duty in Scotland, a rent seek, a chief rent, a rent of assize, and any rent or annuity granted

out of land ; (3) the expression "land or tenement" includes any part of a house separately occupied for the purpose of any trade, business, or profession ; and that expression, and also the expression "hereditament," when used in this Act, in Scotland includes "lands and heritages ;" (4) the expressions "joint tenants" and "tenants in common" include "pro indiviso" proprietors ; (5) the expression "clear-yearly value," as applied to any land or tenement, means in Scotland the annual value as appearing in the valuation roll, and in Ireland the net annual value at which the occupier of such land or tenement was rated under the last rate for the time being under the Act of 1 and 2 Vic. c. 56, or any Acts amending the same.

12. Repeals certain superseded sections of certain Acts.

13. This Act to commence and come into operation on January 1, 1885 ; provided that the register of voters in any county or borough in Scotland made in the last mentioned year shall not come into force until January 1, 1886, and that until that day the previous register of voters is to continue in force.

## II. THE REDISTRIBUTION OF SEATS ACT.

*An Act for the Redistribution of Seats at Parliamentary Elections, and for other Purposes.*

[48 and 49 Vic. c. 23.—25th June, 1885.]

1. This Act to be known as the Redistribution of Seats Act, 1885.

### PART I.

#### REDISTRIBUTION.

##### *Boroughs.*

2. From and after the end of this present Parliament the Parliamentary boroughs named in the first part of the First Schedule to this Act to cease as boroughs to return any member. Each of the counties of cities and towns in the second part of the said schedule to be included, for the

purpose of Parliamentary elections, in the county at large placed opposite to it.

3. The boroughs named in the third part of the First Schedule having been reported to have been guilty of corrupt practices, and the writs for those boroughs having been suspended for some time in consequence, such boroughs to cease to return any member.

4. The city of London to return in future only two members, instead of four, as heretofore; and the boroughs named in the Second Schedule to return only one member, instead of two, as heretofore.

5. The boroughs named in the Third Schedule to return in future the number of members stated opposite to each in the said schedule.

6. The towns and places named in the Fourth Schedule to be Parliamentary boroughs, and to return the number of members stated opposite to each in the said schedule.

7. The boundaries of certain existing boroughs, named in the Fifth Schedule, to be altered, and their boundaries to be as described in the said schedule. Where, by virtue of this section, any area is added to a borough being a county of a city or of a town in which freeholders are entitled to vote for the borough, that area to form part of the county of a city or town, and not of the county at large of which it has heretofore formed part.\*

8. The boroughs named in the Sixth Schedule to be divided into divisions, the number of members for each division, and the number, names, contents, and boundaries of such divisions, to be those specified in the schedule. No person to be registered, or to vote, in more than one division, and the polls (if any) for all the divisions to be taken on the same day.

#### *Counties.*

9. The counties named in the Seventh Schedule to return the number of members named in the schedule; each county,

\* The second provision in this section has application to the four boroughs of Bristol, Exeter, Norwich, and Nottingham.



if it return more than one member, to be divided into as many divisions as it has members, and the names, contents, and boundaries of each division to be those specified in the schedule, each division to constitute a separate constituency.

## PART II.

### SUPPLEMENTAL PROVISIONS.

10. The occupation in immediate succession of different premises situate within a divided borough to have (except in the case of lodgers) the same effect, for the purpose of qualifying for a vote in any division of that borough, as if all such premises were situate in that division of the borough in which the premises occupied at the end of the period of qualification are situate.

11. The borough of Warwick to be called Warwick and Leamington, and the borough of Pembroke to be called Pembroke and Haverfordwest.

12 and 13. Provide for the appointment of returning officers both in the new boroughs and in divided boroughs.

14. Provides for the registration of freemen in divided boroughs.

15. For the purposes of the provision of the schedule to the Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Act, 1883, with respect to the voting of any paid election agent, sub-agent, polling agent, clerk, or messenger, a Parliamentary borough divided into divisions to be deemed to form one borough, and any such agent, etc., employed in one division may not vote in any other division.

16. Provides for the appointment of places of election in both counties and boroughs.

17 and 18. Provide for the saving of the rights of voters on change of Parliamentary area.

19, 20, and 21. Contain some transitory provisions as to registers of voters; also directions as to boundaries in certain cases, and as to the issue of writs, etc.

22. Subject to the provisions of this Act, all existing election laws to remain in force.

23 and 24. Contain definitions of expressions in schedules, and in the Act.

25 and 26. Provide for the application of the Act to Scotland and to Ireland, with certain necessary modifications.

## PART III.

## DISQUALIFICATION OF VOTERS FOR CORRUPT PRACTICES.

27 and 28. Provide for the repeal of certain enactments respecting corrupt practices, and for the disqualification for corrupt practices of certain voters.

## PART IV.

29 to 34. Provide for the acceleration of registration in 1885.

## FIRST SCHEDULE.

PART I.—*Boroughs to cease as such.*

<i>Borough.</i>	<i>County.</i>	<i>Borough.</i>	<i>County.</i>
ENGLAND.		Chippenham	Wilts
Abingdon	Berks and Oxford	Chipping Wycombe	Buckingham
Andover	Southampton	Cirencester	Gloucester
Aylesbury	Buckingham	Clitheroe	Lancaster
Banbury	Oxford and N'thampton	Cockermouth	Cumberland
Barnstaple	Devon	Cricklade	Wilts and Gloucester
Beaumaris (dist.)	Anglesea	Devizes	Wilts
Berwick-upon-Tweed		Dorchester	Dorset
Bewdley	Worcester	Droitwich	Worcester
Bodmin	Cornwall	East Retford	Nottingham and York
Brecon	Brecon	Evesham	Worcester
Bridgenorth	Salop	Eye	Suffolk
Bridport	Dorset	Frome	Somerset
Buckingham	Buckingham	Great Marlow	Buckingham and Berks
Calne	Wilts	Guildford	Surrey
Cardigan (dist.)	Cardigan, Pembroke, & Carmarthen	Harwich	Essex
Chichester	Sussex	Haverfordwest (dist.)	Pembroke

<i>Borough.</i>	<i>County.</i>	<i>Borough.</i>	<i>County.</i>
Helston	Cornwall	Stroud	Gloucester
Hertford	Hertford	Tamworth	Stafford and Warwick
Horsham	Sussex	Tavistock	Devon
Huntingdon	Huntingdon	Tewkesbury	Gloucester
Kendal	Westmoreland	Thirsk	York, North Riding
Knaresborough	York, West Riding	Tiverton	Devon
Launceston	Cornwall	Truro	Cornwall
Leominster	Hereford	Wallingford	Berks and Ox- ford
Lewes	Sussex	Wareham	Dorset
Lichfield	Stafford	Wenlock	Salop
Liskeard	Cornwall	Westbury	Wilts
Ludlow	Salop and Hereford	Weymouth and Melcombe Regis	Dorset
Lymington	Southampton	Whitby	York, North Riding
Maldon	Essex	Wilton	Wilts
Malmesbury	Wilts	Woodstock	Oxford
Malton	York, N. and E. Riding	SCOTLAND.	
Marlborough	Wilts	Haddington	Haddington,
Midhurst	Sussex	(dist.)	Roxburgh, and Berwick
Newark	Nottingham	Wigtown (dist.)	Wigtown and Kirkcudbright
Newport	Isle of Wight	IRELAND.	
New Shoreham	Sussex	Armagh	Armagh
Northallerton	York, North Riding	Athlone	Westmeath & Rosecommon
Petersfield	Southampton	Bandon	Cork
Poole	Dorset	Carlow	Carlow and Queen's
Radnor (dist.)	Radnor and Hereford	Carrickfergus	Antrim
Richmond	York, North Riding	Clonmel	Tipperary and Waterford
Ripon	York, West Riding	Coleraine	Londonderry
Rye	Sussex	Downpatrick	Down
St. Ives	Cornwall	Drogheda	Meath & Louth
Shaftesbury	Dorset and Wilts		
Stamford	Lincoln and N'thampton		

<i>Borough.</i>	<i>County.</i>	<i>Borough.</i>	<i>County.</i>
Dundalk	Louth	Mallow	Cork
Dungannon	Tyrone	New Ross	Wexford and
Dungarvan	Waterford		Kilkenny
Ennis	Clare	Portarlington	Queen's and
Enniskillen	Fermanagh		King's
Kinsale	Cork	Tralee	Kerry
Lisburn	Antrim and	Wexford	Wexford
	Down	Youghal	Cork

PART II.—*Counties of a city or of a town, each to be included in the county at large placed opposite to it.*

Berwick-upon-Tweed to be included in	Northumberland
Haverfordwest	„ Pembroke
Lichfield	„ Stafford
Carrickfergus	„ Antrim
Drogheda	„ Louth

PART III.—*Boroughs disfranchised for Corruption.*

Macclesfield		Sandwich
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## SECOND SCHEDULE.

*Boroughs to lose one Member.*

ENGLAND.		
Bedford.	Grantham.	Salisbury.
Boston.	Hastings.	Scarborough.
Bury St. Edmunds.	Hereford.	Shrewsbury.
Cambridge.	King's Lynn.	Stafford.
Canterbury.	Lincoln.	Stoke-upon-Trent.
Carlisle.	Maidstone.	Taunton.
Chester.	Newcastle-under-	Warwick.
Colchester.	Lyne.	Wigan.
Coventry.	Oxford.	Winchester.
Dover.	Penryn & Falmouth.	Worcester.
Durham.	Peterborough.	IRELAND.
Exeter.	Pontefract.	Galway.
Gloucester.	Reading.	Limerick.
	Rochester.	Waterford.

## THIRD SCHEDULE.

*Boroughs to have additional Members.*

<i>Borough.</i>	<i>Total number of Members.</i>	<i>Borough.</i>	<i>Total number of Members.</i>
<b>ENGLAND.</b>			
Birmingham .....	Seven	Swansea .....	Two
Bradford .....	Three	Tower Hamlets .....	Seven
Bristol .....	Four	Wolverhampton .....	Three
Kingston-upon-Hull ..	Three	<b>SCOTLAND.</b>	
Leeds .....	Five	Aberdeen .....	Two
Liverpool .....	Nine	Edinburgh .....	Four
Manchester .....	Six	Glasgow .....	Seven
Nottingham .....	Three	<b>IRELAND.</b>	
Salford .....	Three	Belfast .....	Four
Sheffield .....	Five	Dublin .....	Four
Southwark .....	Three		

## FOURTH SCHEDULE.

*New Boroughs.\**

<i>Name of Parliamentary Borough.</i>	<i>County.</i>	<i>Number of Members.</i>
Aston Manor	Warwick	One.
Barrow-in-Furness	Lancaster	One.
Battersea and Clap- ham	Surrey	Two.
Bethnal Green	Middlesex	Two.
Camberwell	Surrey	Three.
Chelsea	Middlesex	One.
Croydon	Surrey	One.
Deptford	Kent and Surrey	One.
Finsbury	Middlesex	Three.
Fulham	Middlesex	One.
Great Yarmouth	Norfolk and Suffolk	One.
Greenwich	Kent	One.
Hackney	Middlesex	Three.

\* For the Contents and Boundaries of the Boroughs, in this and the two following schedules, reference must be made to the Act.

Name of Parliamentary Borough.	County.	Number of Members.
Hammersmith	Middlesex	One.
Hampstead	Middlesex	One.
Hanley	Stafford	One.
Islington	Middlesex	Four.
Kensington	Middlesex	Two.
Lambeth	Surrey	Four.
Lewisham	Kent	One.
Marylebone	Middlesex	Two.
Newington	Surrey	Two.
Paddington	Middlesex	Two.
St. George, Hanover Square	Middlesex	One.
St. Helens	Lancaster	One.
St. Pancras	Middlesex	Four.
Shoreditch	Middlesex	Two.
Strand	Middlesex	One.
Wandsworth	Surrey	One.
West Bromwich	Stafford	One.
West Ham	Essex	Two.
Westminster	Middlesex	One.
Woolwich	Kent	One.

## FIFTH SCHEDULE.

*Altered Boroughs.*

ENGLAND.		
Ashton-under-Lyne.	Darlington.	Nottingham
Birmingham.	Derby.	Oldham.
Blackburn.	Hastings.	Pembroke.
Bolton.	King's Lynn.	Preston.
Boston.	Kingston-upon-Hull.	Reading.
Bradford.	Lincoln.	Salisbury.
Bristol.	Liverpool.	Southampton
Bury (Lancashire).	Maidstone.	Stafford.
Cardiff.	Manchester.	Stalybridge
Cheltenham.	Middlesbrough.	Stoke-upon-Trent.
Conway.	Newcastle-under-Lyme.	Wakefield.
	Newport (Mon.).	Warwick and Leamington.

Wednesbury.	Renfrew.	Kilmarnock.
York.	Kirkcaldy.	Edinburgh.
SCOTLAND.	Greenock.	Glasgow.
Port Glasgow.	Hamilton.	Galashiels.

## IRELAND.

Belfast.

## SIXTH SCHEDULE.

*Divisions of Boroughs—One Member for each Division.*

## 1. ENGLAND.

<i>Name of Borough.</i>	<i>Number and Names of Divisions.</i>
Battersea and Clapham.	1. The Battersea Division; 2. The Clapham Division.
Bethnal Green.	1. The North-East Division; 2. The South-West Division.
Birmingham	1. The Edgbaston Division; 2. The West Division; 3. The Central Division; 4. The North Division; 5. The East Division; 6. The Bordesley Division; 7. The South Division.
Bradford	1. The West Division; 2. The Central Division; 3. The East Division.
Bristol	1. The West Division; 2. The North Division; 3. The East Division; 4. The South Division.
Camberwell	1. The North Division; 2. The Peckham Division; 3. The Dulwich Division.
Finsbury	1. The Holborn Division; 2. The Central Division; 3. The East Division.
Hackney	1. The North Division; 2. The Central Division; 3. The South Division.
Islington	1. The North Division; 2. The West Division; 3. The East Division; 4. The South Division.
Kensington	1. The North Division; 2. The South Division.
Kington-upon-Hull	1. The East Division; 2. The Central Division; 3. The West Division.

<i>Name of Borough.</i>	<i>Number and Names of Divisions.</i>
Lambeth	1. The North Division ; 2. The Kennington Division ; 3. The Brixton Division ; 4. The Norwood Division.
Leeds	1. The North Division ; 2. The Central Division ; 3. The East Division ; 4. The West Division ; 5. The South Division.
Liverpool	1. The Kirkdale Division ; 2. The Walton Division ; 3. The Everton Division ; 4. The West Derby Division ; 5. The Scotland Division ; 6. The Exchange Division ; 7. The Abercromby Division ; 8. The East Toxteth Division ; 9. The West Toxteth Division.
Manchester	1. The North-West Division ; 2. The North Division ; 3. The North-East Division ; 4. The East Division ; 5. The South Division ; 6. The South-West Division.
Marylebone	1. The East Division ; 2. The West Division.
Newington	1. The West Division ; 2. The Walworth Division.
Nottingham	1. The West Division ; 2. The East Division ; 3. The South Division.
Paddington	1. The North Division ; 2. The South Division.
St. Pancras	1. The North Division ; 2. The East Division ; 3. The West Division ; 4. The South Division.
Salford	1. The North Division ; 2. The West Division ; 3. The South Division.
Sheffield	1. The Attercliffe Division ; 2. The Brightside Division ; 3. The Central Division ; 4. The Hallam Division ; 5. The Eccleshall Division.
Shoreditch	1. The Hoxton Division ; 2. The Haggerston Division.



<i>Name of Borough.</i>	<i>Number and Names of Divisions.</i>
Southwark	1. The West Division; 2. The Rotherhithe Division; 3. The Bermondsey Division.
Swansea	1. Swansea Town; 2. Swansea District.
Tower Hamlets	1. The Whitechapel Division; 2. The St. George Division; 3. The Limehouse Division; 4. The Mile End Division; 5. The Stepney Division; 6. The Bow and Bromley Division; 7. The Poplar Division.
West Ham	1. The North Division; 2. The South Division.
Wolverhampton	1. The West Division; 2. The East Division; 3. The South Division.

## 2. SCOTLAND.

Aberdeen	1. The North Division; 2. The South Division.
Edinburgh	1. The East Division; 2. The West Division; 3. The Central Division; 4. The South Division.
Glasgow	1. The Bridgeton Division; 2. The Camlachie Division; 3. The St. Rollox Division; 4. The Central Division; 5. The College Division; 6. The Tradeston Division; 7. The Blackfriars and Hutchesontown Division.

## 3. IRELAND.

Belfast	1. The East Belfast Division; 2. The South Belfast Division; 3. The West Belfast Division; 4. The North Belfast Division.
Borough of Dublin	1. The College Green Division; 2. The Dublin Harbour Division; 3. The St. Stephen's Green Division; 4. The St. Patrick's Division.

## SEVENTH SCHEDULE.

*Divisions of Counties—One Member for each Division.\**

## 1. ENGLAND.

<i>Name of County.</i>	<i>Number and Names of Divisions.</i>
Bedford	1. The Northern or Biggleswade Division; 2. The Southern or Luton Division.
Berks	1. The Northern or Abingdon Division; 2. The Southern or Newbury Division; 3. The Eastern or Wokingham Division.
Bucks	1. The Northern or Buckingham Division; 2. The Mid or Aylesbury Division; 3. The Southern or Wycombe Division.
Cambridge	1. The Northern or Wisbech Division; The Western or Chesterton Division; 3. The Eastern or Newmarket Division.
Carmarthen	1. The Eastern Division; 2. The Western Division.
Carnarvon	1. The Southern or Eifion Division; 2. The Northern or Arfon Division.
Chester	1. The Wirral Division; 2. The Eddisbury Division; 3. The Macclesfield Division; 4. The Crewe Division; 5. The Northwich Division; 6. The Altringham Division; 7. The Hyde Division; 8. The Knutsford Division.
Cornwall	1. The Western or St. Ives Division; 2. The North-Western or Camborne Division; 3. The Truro Division; 4. The Mid or St. Austell Division; 5. The South-Eastern or Bodmin Division; 6. The North-Eastern or Launceston Division.

\* For the Contents and Boundaries of the Divisions, reference must be made to the Act.

<i>Name of County.</i>	<i>Number and Names of Divisions.</i>
Cumberland	1. The Northern or Eskdale Division; 2. The Mid or Penrith Division; 3. The Cockermouth Division; 4. The Western or Egremont Division.
Denbigh	1. The Eastern Division; 2. The Western Division.
Derby	1. The High Peak Division; 2. The North - Eastern Division; 3. The Chesterfield Division; 4. The Western Division; 5. The Mid Division; 6. The Ilkeston Division; 7. The Southern Division.
Devon	1. The Eastern or Honiton Division; 2. The North - Eastern or Tiverton Division; 3. The Northern or South Molton Division; 4. The North-Western or Barnstaple Division; 5. The Western or Tavistock Division; 6. The Southern or Totnes Division; 7. The Torquay Division; 8. The Mid or Ashburton Division.
Dorset	1. The Northern Division; 2. The Eastern Division; 3. The Southern Division; 4. The Western Division.
Durham	1. The Jarrow Division; 2. The Houghton - le - Spring Division; 3. The Chester-le-Street Division; 4. The North-Western Division; 5. The Mid Division; 6. The South - Eastern Division; 7. The Bishop Auckland Division; 8. The Barnard Castle Division.
Essex	1. The South-Western or Walthamstow Division; 2. The Southern or Romford Division; 3. The Western or Epping Division; 4. The Northern or Saffron Walden Division; 5. The North-Eastern or Harwich Division;

<i>Name of County.</i>	<i>Number and Names of Divisions.</i>
	6. The Eastern or Maldon Division ; 7. The Mid or Chelmsford Division ; 8. The South-Eastern Division.
Glamorgan	1. The Eastern Division ; 2. The Rhondda Division ; 3. The Western or Gower Division ; 4. The Mid Division ; 5. The Southern Division.
Gloucester	1. The Mid or Stroud Division ; 2. The Northern or Tewkesbury Division ; 3. The Eastern or Cirencester Division ; 4. The Forest of Dean Division ; 5. The Southern or Thornbury Division.
Hants (exclusive of the Isle of Wight)	1. The Northern or Basingstoke Division ; 2. The Western or Andover Division ; 3. The Eastern or Petersfield Division ; 4. The Southern or Fareham Division ; 5. The New Forest Division.
Hereford	1. The Northern or Leominster Division ; 2. The Southern or Ross Division.
Hertford	1. The Northern or Hitchin Division ; 2. The Eastern or Hertford Division ; 3. The Mid or St. Albans Division ; 4. The Western or Watford Division.
Huntingdon	1. The Southern or Huntingdon Division ; 2. The Northern or Ramsey Division.
Kent	1. The Western or Sevenoaks Division ; 2. The North-Western or Dartford Division ; 3. The South-Western or Tunbridge Division ; 4. The Mid or Medway Division ; 5. The North-Eastern or Faversham Division ; 6. The Southern or Ashford Division ; 7. The Eastern or St. Augustine's Division ; 8. The Isle of Thanet Division.
Lancashire (North)	1. The North Lonsdale Division ; 2. The Lancaster Division ; 3. The Blackpool Division ; 4. The Chorley Division.

<i>Name of County.</i>	<i>Number and Names of Divisions.</i>
Lancashire	1. The Darwen Division; 2. The Clitheroe Division; 3. The Accrington Division; 4. The Rossendale Division.
(North-East)	
„ (South-East)	1. The West Houghton Division; 2. The Heywood Division; 3. The Middleton Division; 4. The Radcliffe-cum-Farnworth Division; 5. The Eccles Division; 6. The Stretford Division; 7. The Gorton Division; 8. The Prestwich Division.
„ (South-West)	1. The Southport Division; 2. The Ormskirk Division; 3. The Bootle Division; 4. The Widnes Division; 5. The Newton Division; 6. The Ince Division; 7. The Leigh Division.
Leicester	1. The Eastern or Melton Division; 2. The Mid or Loughborough Division; 3. The Western or Bosworth Division; 4. The Southern or Harborough Division.
Lincoln	1. The West Lindsey or Gainsborough Division; 2. The North Lindsey or Brigg Division; 3. The East Lindsey or Louth Division; 4. The South Lindsey or Horncastle Division; 5. The North Kesteven or Sleaford Division; 6. The South Kesteven or Stamford Division; 7. The Holland or Spalding Division.
Middlesex	1. The Enfield Division; 2. The Tottenham Division; 3. The Hornsey Division; 4. The Harrow Division; 5. The Ealing Division; 6. The Brentford Division; 7. The Uxbridge Division.
Monmouth	1. The Northern Division; 2. The Western Division; 3. The Southern Division.

<i>Name of County.</i>	<i>Number and Names of Divisions.</i>
Norfolk	1. The North-Western Division; 2. The South-Western Division; 3. The Northern Division; 4. The Eastern Division; 5. The Mid Division; 6. The Southern Division.
Northampton	1. The Northern Division; 2. The Eastern Division; 3. The Mid Division; 4. The Southern Division.
Northumberland	1. The Wansbeck Division; 2. The Tyne-side Division; 3. The Hexham Division; 4. The Berwick-upon-Tweed Division.
Nottingham	1. The Bassetlaw Division; 2. The Newark Division; 3. The Rushcliffe Division; 4. The Mansfield Division.
Oxford	1. The Northern or Banbury Division; 2. The Mid or Woodstock Division; 3. The Southern or Henley Division.
Rutland	One Member.
Salop	1. The Western or Oswestry Division; 2. The Northern or Newport Division; 3. The Mid or Wellington Division; 4. The Southern or Ludlow Division.
Somerset	1. The Northern Division; 2. The Wells Division; 3. The Frome Division; 4. The Eastern Division; 5. The Southern Division; 6. The Bridgewater Division; 7. The Western or Wellington Division.
Stafford	1. The Leek Division; 2. The Burton Division; 3. The Western Division; 4. The North-Western Division; 5. The Lichfield Division; 6. The Kingswinford Division; 7. The Handsworth Division.
Suffolk	1. The Northern or Lowestoft Division; 2. The North-Eastern or Eye Division; 3. The North-Western or Stow-

<i>Name of County.</i>	<i>Number and Names of Divisions.</i>
<b>Surrey</b>	market Division; 4. The South or Sudbury Division; 5. The South-Eastern or Woodbridge Division. 1. The North-Western or Chertsey Division; 2. The South-Western or Guildford Division; 3. The South-Eastern or Reigate Division; 4. The Mid or Epsom Division; 5. The Kingston Division; 6. The North-Eastern or Wimbledon Division.
<b>Sussex</b>	1. The North-Western or Horsham Division; 2. The South-Western or Chichester Division; 3. The Northern or East Grinstead Division; 4. The Mid or Lewes Division; 5. The Southern or Eastbourne Division; 6. The Eastern or Rye Division.
<b>Warwick</b>	1. The Northern or Tamworth Division; 2. The North-Eastern or Nuneaton Division; 3. The South-Western or Stratford-on-Avon Division; 4. The South-Eastern or Rugby Division.
<b>Westmoreland</b>	1. The Northern or Appleby Division; 2. The Southern or Kendal Division.
<b>Wilts</b>	1. The Northern or Cricklade Division; 2. The North-Western or Chippenham Division; 3. The Western or Westbury Division; 4. The Eastern or Devizes Division; 5. The Southern or Wilton Division.
<b>Worcester</b>	1. The Western or Bewdley Division; 2. The Southern or Evesham Division; 3. The Mid or Droitwich Division; 4. The Northern Division; 5. The Eastern Division.
<b>York (North Riding)</b>	1. The Thirsk and Malton Division; 2. The Richmond Division; 3. The Cleveland Division; 4. The Whitby Division.

<i>Name of County.</i>	<i>Number and Names of Divisions.</i>
York (East Riding)	1. The Holderness Division; 2. The Buckrose Division; 3. The Howden-shire Division.
„ (West Riding, Northern Part)	1. The Skipton Division; 2. The Keighley Division; 3. The Shipley Division; 4. The Sowerby Division; 5. The Elland Division.
„ (West Riding, Southern Part)	1. The Morley Division; 2. The Norman-ton Division; 3. The Colne Valley Division; 4. The Holmfirth Division; 5. The Barnsley Division; 6. The Hallamshire Division; 7. The Rother-ham Division; 8. The Doncaster Division.
„ (West Riding, Eastern Part)	1. The Ripon Division; 2. The Otley Division; 3. The Barkston-Ash Division; 4. The Osgoldcross Division; 5. The Pudsey Division; 6. The Spen Valley Division.
2. SCOTLAND.	
Fife	1. The Eastern Division; 2. The Western Division.
Lanark	1. The Govan Division; 2. The Partick Division; 3. The North-Western Division; 4. The North-Eastern Division; 5. The Mid Division; 6. The Southern Division.
Perth	1. The Eastern Division; 2. The Western Division.
Renfrew	1. The Eastern Division; 2. The Western Division.
3. IRELAND.	
Antrim	1. North Antrim; 2. Mid Antrim; 3. East Antrim; 4. South Antrim.
Armagh	1. North Armagh; 2. Mid Armagh; 3. South Armagh.
Carlow	One Member.



<i>Name of County.</i>	<i>Number and Names of Divisions.</i>
Cavan	1. West Cavan; 2. East Cavan.
Clare	1. East Clare; 2. West Clare.
Cork	1. North Cork; 2. North-East Cork; 3. Mid Cork; 4. East Cork; 5. West Cork; 6. South Cork; 7. South-East Cork.
Donegal	1. North Donegal; 2. West Donegal; 3. East Donegal; 4. South Donegal.
Down	1. North Down; 2. East Down; 3. West Down; 4. South Down.
Dublin	1. North Dublin; 2. South Dublin.
Fermanagh	1. North Fermanagh; 2. South Ferma- nagh.
Galway	1. Connemara; 2. North Galway; 3. East Galway; 4. South Galway.
Kerry	1. North Kerry; 2. West Kerry; 3. South Kerry; 4. East Kerry.
Kildare	1. North Kildare; 2. South Kildare.
Kilkenny	1. North Kilkenny; 2. South Kilkenny.
King's County	1. Birr; 2. Tullamore.
Leitrim	1. North Leitrim; 2. South Leitrim.
Limerick	1. West Limerick; 2. East Limerick.
Londonderry	1. North Derry; 2. South Derry.
Longford	1. North Longford; 2. South Longford.
Louth	1. North Louth; 2. South Louth.
Mayo	1. North Mayo; 2. West Mayo; 3. East Mayo; 4. South Mayo.
Meath	1. North Meath; 2. South Meath.
Monaghan	1. North Monaghan; 2. South Mona- ghan.
Queen's County	1. Ossory; 2. Leix.
Roscommon	1. North Roscommon; 2. South Ros- common.
Sligo	1. North Sligo; 2. South Sligo.
Tipperary	1. North Tipperary; 2. Mid Tipperary; 3. South Tipperary; 4. East Tip- perary.
Tyrone	1. North Tyrone; 2. Mid Tyrone; 3. East Tyrone; 4. South Tyrone.

<i>Name of County.</i>	<i>Number and Names of Divisions.</i>
Waterford	1. West Waterford ; 2. East Waterford.
Westmeath	1. North Westmeath ; 2. South Westmeath.
Wexford	1. North Wexford ; 2. South Wexford.
Wicklow	1. West Wicklow ; 2. East Wicklow.

## D.

## THE CONSTITUENCIES OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.\*

## 1. ENGLAND AND WALES.—495 Members.

*Counties.*—253 Members.

Anglesea .....	1	Durham .....	8	Leicestershire	4
Bedfordshire	2	Essex.....	8	Lincolnshire...	7
Berkshire .....	3	Flintshire .....	1	Merioneth-	
Brecon .....	1	Glamorgan-		shire .....	1
Buckingham-		shire .....	5	Middlesex.....	7
shire .....	3	Gloucester-		Monmouth-	
Cambridge-		shire .....	5	shire .....	3
shire .....	3	Hants .....	5	Montgomery-	
Cardiganshire	1	Herefordshire	2	shire .....	1
Carmarthen-		Hertfordshire	4	Norfolk .....	6
shire .....	2	Huntingdon-		Northampton-	
Carnarvonshire	2	shire .....	2	shire .....	4
Cheshire .....	8	Isle of Wight	1	Northumber-	
Cornwall .....	6	Kent .....	8	land .....	4
Cumberland...	4	Lancashire		Nottingham ...	4
Denbighshire	2	(N.)	4	Oxfordshire ...	3
Derbyshire ...	7	„ (N.E.)	4	Pembrokeshire	1
Devonshire ...	8	„ (S.E.)	8	Radnorshire ...	1
Dorsetshire ...	4	„ (S.W.)	7	Rutland.....	1

\* In the following list of constituencies, all counties having more than one representative are divided into divisions, each division having one representative. Boroughs having more than two representatives are similarly divided.

Shropshire ... 4	Westmoreland 2	Yorkshire
Somersetshire 7	Wiltshire..... 5	(W. Riding,
Staffordshire 7	Worcester-	N. Part) 5
Suffolk ..... 5	shire ..... 5	„ (W. Riding,
Surrey ..... 6	Yorkshire	S. Part) 8
Sussex ..... 6	(N. Riding) 4	„ (W. Riding,
Warwickshire 4	„ (E. Riding) 3	E. Part) 6

*Boroughs.—287 Members.*

Ashton-under-	Chatham ..... 1	Grimsby ..... 1
Lyne ..... 1	Chelsea ..... 1	Hackney ..... 3
Aston Manor 1	Cheltenham ... 1	Halifax ..... 2
Barrow-in-	Chester ..... 1	Hammersmith 1
Furness..... 1	Christchurch 1	Hampstead ... 1
Bath ..... 2	Colchester ... 1	Hanley ..... 1
Battersea and	Coventry ..... 1	Hartlepool 1
Clapham ... 2	Croydon ..... 1	Hastings ..... 1
Bedford..... 1	Darlington ... 1	Hereford ..... 1
Bermondsey... 1	Denbigh ..... 1	Huddersfield 1
Bethnal Green 2	Deptford ..... 1	Hull ..... 3
Birkenhead ... 1	Derby ..... 2	Hythe (Kent) 1
Birmingham 7	Devonport ... 2	Ipswich..... 2
Blackburn..... 2	Dewsbury ... 1	Islington ..... 4
Bolton ..... 2	Dover ..... 1	Kensington ... 2
Boston ..... 1	Dudley ..... 1	Kidderminster 1
Bradford ..... 3	Durham ..... 1	King's Lynn... 1
Brighton ..... 2	Exeter ..... 1	Lambeth ..... 4
Bristol ..... 4	Falmouth and	Leeds..... 5
Burnley ..... 1	Penryn ..... 1	Leicester ..... 2
Bury (Lane.) 1	Finsbury ..... 3	Lewisham..... 1
Bury St.	Flint Boroughs 1	Lincoln..... 1
Edmunds 1	Fulham ..... 1	Liverpool ..... 9
Camberwell ... 3	Gateshead..... 1	London (City) 2
Cambridge ... 1	Gloucester ... 1	Maidstone ... 1
Canterbury ... 1	Grantham..... 1	Manchester ... 1
Carlisle ..... 1	Gravesend ... 1	Marylebone ... 2
Carmarthen ... 1	Great Yar-	Merthyr
Carnarvon	mouth ..... 1	Tydvil..... 2
Boroughs 1	Greenwich ... 1	

Middlesboro' 1	Rochester ..... 1	Taunton ..... 1
Monmouth ... 1	St. George's,	Tower Hamlets 7
Montgomery 1	Hanover Sq. 1	Tynemouth ... 1
Morpeth 1	St. Helens ... 1	Wakefield..... 1
Newcastle-on-	St. Pancras ... 4	Walsall .. 1
Tyne ..... 2	Salford ..... 8	Wandsworth 1
Newcastle-	Salisbury ..... 1	Warrington ... 1
under-Lyme 1	Scarborough... 1	Warwick ..... 1
Newington ... 2	Sheffield ..... 5	Wednesbury... 1
Northampton 2	Shields (South) 1	West Brom-
Norwich ..... 2	Shoreditch ... 2	wich ..... 1
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Oldham..... 2	Southampton 2	Westminster 1
Oxford ..... 1	Southwark ... 3	Whitehaven... 1
Paddington ... 2	Stafford..... 1	Wigan ..... 1
Pembroke..... 1	Stalybridge ... 1	Winchester ... 1
Peterborough 1	Stockport . 2	Windsor ..... 1
Plymouth..... 2	Stockton on -	Wolverhamp-
Pontefract..... 1	Tees 1	ton..... 3
Portsmouth ... 2	Stoke-on-Trent 1	Woolwich ..... 1
Preston ..... 2	Strand ..... 1	Worcester..... 1
Reading ..... 1	Sunderland ... 2	York ..... 2
Rochdale ..... 1	Swansea ..... 2	

*Universities.—5 Members.*

Cambridge ... 2	London..... 1	Oxford ..... 2
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*2. SCOTLAND.—72 Members.**Counties.—39 Members.*

Aberdeen ..... 2	Clackmannan	Forfar ..... 1
Argyll ..... 1	and Kinross 1	Haddington 1
Ayr ..... 2	Dumbarton ... 1	Inverness 1
Banff..... 1	Dumfries ..... 1	Kincardine 1
Berwick ..... 1	Edinburgh ... 1	Kirkcudbright 1
Bute ..... 1	Elgin & Nairn 1	Lanark 6
Caithness ..... 1	Fife ..... 2	Linlithgow ... 1

Orkney and	Perth..... 2	Roxburgh ..... 1
Shetland ... 1	Renfrew ..... 2	Stirling ..... 1
Peebles and	Ross and Cro-	Sutherland ... 1
Selkirk ..... 1	marty ..... 1	Wigtown ..... 1

*Boroughs.—31 Members.*

Aberdeen ..... 2	Greenock ..... 1	Montrose (dist.) 1
Ayr (dist.) ... 1	Hawick (dist.) 1	Paisley ..... 1
Dumfries (dist.) 1	Inverness	Perth..... 1
Dundee..... 2	boroughs ... 1	St. Andrews
Edinburgh ... 4	Kilmarnock	(dist.) ..... 1
Elgin (dist.) 1	(dist.) ..... 1	Stirling (dist.) 1
Falkirk (dist.) 1	Kirkcaldy (dist.) 1	Wick (dist.) 1
Glasgow (City) 7	Leith (dist.) 1	

*Universities.—2 Members.*

Edinburgh and St. An-	Glasgow and Aberdeen
drews (jointly) ..... 1	(jointly) ..... 1

**3. IRELAND.—103 Members.***Counties.—85 Members.*

Antrim ..... 4	Kerry..... 4	Monaghan ... 2
Armagh..... 3	Kildare ..... 2	Queen's County 2
Carlow ..... 1	Kilkenny ..... 2	Roscommon ... 2
Cavan ..... 2	King's County 2	Sligo ..... 2
Clare ..... 2	Leitrim..... 2	Tipperary ..... 4
Cork ..... 7	Limerick ..... 2	Tyrone ..... 4
Donegal..... 4	Londonderry 2	Waterford..... 2
Down ..... 4	Longford ..... 2	Westmeath ... 2
Dublin ..... 2	Louth ..... 2	Wexford ..... 2
Fermanagh ... 2	Mayo..... 4	Wicklow ..... 2
Galway ..... 4	Meath ..... 2	

*Boroughs.—16 Members.*

Belfast ..... 4	Galway ..... 1	Londonderry 1
Cork ..... 2	Kilkenny ..... 1	Newry ..... 1
Dublin ..... 4	Limerick ..... 1	Waterford (City) 1

*University.—2 Members.*

Dublin .....	2
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SUMMARY.*ENGLAND AND WALES.*

Counties .....	253
Boroughs .....	237
Universities .....	5
	<hr/>
	495

*SCOTLAND.*

Counties .....	89
Boroughs .....	31
Universities .....	2
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	72

*IRELAND.*

Counties .....	85
Boroughs .....	16
University .....	2
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	108

TOTAL ..... 670

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8. 8.

9. 9.

10. 10.

11. 11.

12. 12.

13. 13.

14. 14.

15. 15.

16. 16.

17. 17.

# INDEX.

"A LEAP IN THE DARK," 203.  
 Aberdeen, Earl of, 128.  
 Adelaide, Queen, 97, 107, 113.  
 Adullamites, 172.  
 Affirmation in lieu of oath, 118, 119.  
 Agricultural Holdings Act, 213.  
 Althorp, Lord, 47, 56, 57, 64.  
  
 BAINES, SIR E., 146, 147, 151, 158.  
 Ballot, 54, 135, 212.  
 Bamford, Samuel, 19, 23.  
 Bankruptcy Act, 215.  
 Beaconsfield, Earl of (*See* Disraeli, Mr.)  
 Beales, Mr. E., 183.  
 Bentham, Jeremy, 13.  
 Blandford, Marquis of, 33.  
 Blanketeers, 15.  
 Bright, Mr. :—  
     — and the Corn Laws, 128.  
     — on Reform, 171.  
     — and the Adullamites, 172.  
     — his reference to the Queen, 184-186.  
     — on Household Suffrage, 194.  
     — for the first time in office, 208.  
     — not a Democrat, 224.  
     — in Manchester, etc., 238, 239.  
 Brougham, Mr. (afterwards Lord) :—  
     — returned for Yorkshire, 38.  
     — on the Duke of Wellington, 41.

Brougham, Mr. (*continued*) :—  
     — becomes Lord Chancellor, 47-49.  
     — speech on the Reform Bill, 82-85.  
     — on his knees, 85.  
     — waits upon the King, 102, 107, 110.  
 Burdett, Sir F., 12, 16, 24.  
 Burgage-holders, 7.  
 Burials Act, 214.  
  
 CAIRNS, EARL, 177, 236.  
 Calcraft, Mr., 67, 68.  
 Capital punishment, 120, 122, 125, 130, 208.  
 Carlile, 50.  
 Cartwright, Major, 12, 16, 17.  
 Castlereagh, Lord, 13, 89.  
 "Cave of Adullam," 172.  
 Chamberlain, Mr., 224, 226, 232, 239, 242, 244, 246.  
 Chandos clause, 77.  
 Charles X., 26-28.  
 Charter, The People's, 136-143.  
 Chimney-sweepers, 120.  
 Church Rates, 208.  
 Churchill, Lord R., 233.  
 Civil Service, 211.  
 Cobbett, William, 14, 50.  
 Cobden, Mr., 128, 212, 252.  
 Commander-in-chief, 211.  
 Compound householders, 198.  
 Conservative picnics, 241.  
 Corn Laws, 127, 128.  
 Corrupt Practices Act, 215.



- Croker, Mr. J. W., 64, 77, 118.  
 Cromwell, 4.  
 Cumulative voting, 201.
- DERBY, EARL OF**, 47, 64, 128, 130, 177, 182, 192, 206, 210.  
**Dilke, Sir C.**, 224, 226, 245, 249, 255.  
 "Dishing the Whigs," 206.  
**Disraeli, Mr.** (afterwards Earl of Beaconsfield) :—  
 — becomes Chancellor of the Exchequer, 128.  
 — introduces a Reform Bill, 146.  
 — his attitude towards Mr. Gladstone, 162.  
 — Mr. O'Connell on, 163.  
 — again Chancellor of the Exchequer, 182.  
 — proposes proceeding by Resolution, 187.  
 — introduces a new scheme of Reform, 188.  
 — introduces his second Reform Bill, 195, etc.  
 — "educating" his party, 202.  
 — becomes Prime Minister, 207.  
 — resigns office, 208.  
 — again Prime Minister, 212.  
 — again resigns, 213.  
**Dissenters' Marriages Act**, 122.  
**Dissolution, The Law respecting**, 32.  
**Distress**, 31, 49, 137.  
 "Doing what he would with his own," 35.  
**Duncannon, Viscount**, 51.  
**Duncombe, Mr. T. S.**, 134, 140, 141.  
**Durham, Earl of**, 47, 51, 54.
- EBBRINGTON, LORD**, 88, 104.  
**Ecclesiastical Titles Act**, 211.  
**Education, National**, 120, 125, 127, 210.  
**Election** :—  
 — of 1830, 36-39.  
 — of 1831, 74, 75.  
 — of 1832, 117.  
 — of 1865, 160.  
 — of 1868, 207.  
 — of 1874, 212.
- Electric Telegraphs**, 216.  
**Ellenborough, Earl of**, 98.  
**Employers' Liability Act**, 214.
- FACTORY ACTS**, 118, 127, 128.  
**Fawcett, Mr.**, 170.  
 "Finality John," 113.  
**Fitzwilliam, Earl**, 24.  
 "Flesh and blood," 174.  
**Flood, Henry**, 12.  
**Forster, Mr. W. E.**, 204, 210, 226.  
**Fowler, Mr.**, 234.  
**Fox, Mr.**, 11.  
**Franchisees**, 7.  
**Freemen**, 7.  
**Frost, Williams, and Jones**, 140, 141.
- GAGGING ACTS**, 25.  
**Gascoyne, General**, 71.  
**George IV.**, 26, 29.  
**Gibson, Mr. Milner**, 212.  
**Gladstone, Mr.** :—  
 — elected for Newark, 118.  
 — becomes Under-Secretary for the Colonies, 120.  
 — becomes Chancellor of the Exchequer, 128.  
 — his attitude towards Reform, 147.  
 — his first speech on Reform, 148.  
 — his defence of nomination boroughs, 150.  
 — his second speech on Reform, 153.  
 — defeated at Oxford, 160.  
 — returned for South Lancashire, 161.  
 — Leader of the House of Commons, 161.  
 — announces a Reform Bill, 165.  
 — suspicion of, 166.  
 — introduces his first Reform Bill, 168.  
 — at Liverpool, 175.  
 — his reply to Earl Grosvenor, 177.  
 — resigns office, 182.  
 — Prime Minister, 208.  
 — resigns office, 212.

- Gladstone, Mr. :—  
 — abdicates his leadership of the party, 212.  
 — again Prime Minister, 213.  
 — introduces another Reform Bill, 227.  
 — on the House of Lords, 240, 241.  
 — introduces a Redistribution Bill, 250.  
 — resigns office, 254.  
 Graham, Sir J., 47, 51, 56, 64, 212.  
 Granville, Earl, 212, 213, 248.  
 Grey, Earl :—  
 — first takes up Reform, 11.  
 — becomes Prime Minister, 46.  
 — announces a Reform Bill, 55.  
 — proposes the second reading of the second bill in the Lords, 80.  
 — his appeal to the Bishops, 81.  
 — proposes the second reading of the third bill in the Lords, 98.  
 — resigns office, 102.  
 — again sent for, 109.  
 — his interview with the King, 110.  
 — finally resigns office, 120.  
 Grosvenor, Earl, 174, 176, 177.  
 Grote, Mr., 134, 135.  
 Ground Game Act, 214.
- HAMPDEN CLUBS, 14.  
 Hartington, Lord, 238, 243, 244, 245.  
 Horsman, Mr., 170.  
 Hours of Polling, 215.  
 Hume, Mr., 38, 64, 88, 134, 144, 146, 212.  
 Hunt, "Orator," 18–24, 64.  
 Huskisson, Mr., 36.  
 Hyde Park, 183, 184.
- IMPORTS, 218.  
 Irish Church, 210.  
 Irish Land Act, 214.
- JAMES, SIR H., 255.  
 Jews, Admission of to Parliament, 129.
- KING, MR. LOCKE, 144, 145, 146, 147, 151.
- LANSDOWNE, MARQUIS OF, 47.  
 "Leaps and bounds," 209.  
 Leeds Conference, 228.  
 Lefevre, Mr., 245, 255.  
 Legislative Attorneys, 16.  
 Local Government, 212.  
 Lovell, William, 136.  
 Lowe, Mr., 158, 170, 171, 178.  
 Lubbock, Sir J., 253.  
 Lyndhurst, Lord, 43, 98, 102, 108.  
 Lytton, Earl, 175, 177.
- M'LAREN, MR., 234.  
 Macaulay, Lord, 64, 78.  
 Malt Tax, 214.  
 Manners, Lord J., 232.  
 Married Women's Property Act, 215.  
 Melbourne, Viscount, 47, 120, 125.  
 "Mending or ending," 239.  
 Merchant Shipping Bill, 213.  
 Mill, Mr. J. S., 166, 201.  
 Molesworth, Sir W., 134.  
 Morley, Mr. J., 226, 239.  
 "Mrs. Partington," 92, 106.  
 Municipal Reform, 121, 125.
- NATIONAL EDUCATION, 120, 125, 127.  
 Navigation Laws, 128.  
 Newcastle, Duke of, 34, 39, 90.  
 Newspapers, 122, 217.  
 "Night of divisions," 76.  
 "No more payment of taxes," 105.  
 Nonconformist Marriages Act, 122.  
 Norfolk, Duke of, 24.  
 Northcote, Sir S., 236, 246, 249, 250.  
 Nottingham Castle, 90.
- OBSTRUCTION, 76.  
 O'Connell, Mr., 33, 34, 64, 97, 136.  
 O'Connor, Feargus, 141, 143.  
 Old Sarum, 4.  
 "One man, one vote," 12.

PAXINGTON, SIR J., 190.  
 Palmer, Sir Roundell, 212.  
 Palmerston, Viscount, 47, 56, 64,  
     128, 130, 131, 161.  
 Paper duty, 122, 130.  
 Partington, Mrs., 92, 106.  
 Patents Act, 215.  
 Payment of wages, 215.  
 Pease, Mr. Joseph, 118.  
 Peel, Sir R., 32, 64, 77, 108, 120,  
     125, 128, 141.  
 Peterloo, 17-24.  
 Phillpotts, Bishop, 98, 99.  
 Pillory, 122.  
 Pitt, Mr., 10.  
 Plimsoll, Mr., 213.  
 Plot, The, 109.  
 Political Unions, 91, 93.  
 Poor Laws, 120, 124.  
 Postage, Penny, 125, 217.  
 Potwallers, 7.  
 Pressgang, 125.  
 Prince Regent, 15, 24.  
 Purchase in the Army, 211.

#### RAILWAYS, 127, 216.

##### Reform Act :—

— the first, results of, 114, etc.  
 — imperfections of, 132.  
 — abstract of, *Appendix*,  
     257.  
 — the second, results of, 207,  
     etc.  
 — imperfections of, 220.  
 — abstract of, *Appendix*,  
     266.  
 — the third, abstract of, *Ap-  
     pendix*, 272.

##### Reform Bill :—

— the first, prepared by Lord  
     J. Russell, 52-54.  
 — approved by the King,  
     54.  
 — introduced by Lord. J.  
     Russell, 58.  
 — read a second time, 67.  
 — defeated in Committee,  
     70, 71.  
 — the second, introduced by  
     Lord J. Russell, 75.  
 — read a second time, 76.  
 — in Committee, 76, 77.

##### Reform Bill (*continued*) :—

— read a third time, 78.  
 — introduced into the  
     House of Lords by  
     Earl Grey, 80.  
 — defeated on the second  
     reading, 87.  
 — the third, introduced by  
     Lord J. Russell, 93.  
 — read a second time, 94.  
 — in Committee, 95.  
 — read a third time, 95.  
 — second reading in the  
     Lords, 98-100.  
 — defeated in Committee,  
     101, 102.  
 — again in Committee, 112.  
 — passed, 113.  
 — Lord J. Russell's (1852,  
     etc.), 144-146.  
 — Mr. Disraeli's (1859), 145.  
 — Mr. Gladstone's first, 168,  
     etc.  
 — defeated, 181, 182.  
 — Mr. Disraeli's, 192.  
 — Mr. Disraeli's second, 195.  
 — read a second time,  
     197, 198.  
 — Mr. Gladstone's ob-  
     jections to the  
     bill, 197, 198.  
 — in Committee, 198,  
     201.  
 — passes the House of  
     Commons, 201.  
 — read a second time  
     in the Lords,  
     204.  
 — in Committee, 204.  
 — passed, 205.  
 — Mr. Gladstone's second, 227,  
     etc.  
 — amendment on the  
     second reading,  
     232.  
 — read a second time,  
     232.  
 — in Committee, 233.  
 — read a third time,  
     235, 236.  
 — set aside by the  
     House of Lords,  
     236.

**Reform Bill (*continued*) :—**

- reintroduced into the House of Commons, and passed, 247.
- reintroduced into the House of Lords, and read a second time, 247, 248.
- passed, 252.
- Mr. Gladstone's Redistribution Bill introduced, 250.
- read a second time, 252.
- in Committee, 253.
- passed, 254.
- passed by the House of Lords, 254.

**Reform Hymn, 105.****Representation before Reform, 1-10.**

- of owners, 5.
- "Rest, and be thankful," 152.
- Revolution in France, 27.
- Riots in London, 89.
- at Derby, 89.
- at Nottingham, 90, 95.
- at Bristol, 90, 95.

**Roebuck, Mr., 134.****Russell, Lord John (afterwards Earl) :—**

- first takes up Reform, 25.
- his bill to enfranchise Manchester, etc., 34.
- Paymaster of the Forces, 47.
- selected to draw up a Reform Bill, 51.
- his scheme, 52-54.
- selected to bring in the bill, 55.
- his speech, 58-64.
- introduces the second Reform Bill, 75.
- introduces the third Reform Bill, 95.
- introduces Municipal Reform, 121.
- carries an Education Act, 125.
- Prime Minister, 128, 130, 161.
- declares against further Reform, 135.

**Russell, Lord John (*continued*):—**

- further declaration on Reform, 144.
- introduces other Reform Bills, 144-146.
- "Rest, and be thankful," 152.
- resigns office, 182.
- his opinion of the bill of 1867, 203, 204.
- his retirement from political life, 207.
- "Russell's Purge," 67.

**SALISBURY, MARQUIS OF, 177, 193, 237, 238, 243, 246, 247.****Scot and lot voters, 7.****Shaftesbury, Earl of, 118, 126.****Sherbrooke, Viscount (*See* Lowe, Mr.)****Six Acts, 25.****Slavery, 119.****Smith, Rev. Sydney, 91, 106, 126.****Society of the Friends of the People, 6, 11.****Somerville, Alexander, 104.****South African Confederation Act, 213.*****Standard*, 245.****Steam vessels, 216.****Sugar duties, 212.****Sunday Closing, 213, 215.****Supreme Court of Judicature Act, 212.****Swords of the Greys, 106.****"Sybil," 83, 84.****TAXATION, 126.****Tea duty, 130.****Tea-room party, 199.****Ten Minutes' Bill, 189.****"The Bill, the whole Bill," etc., 74, 101.****"The schoolmaster abroad," 41, 223.****"Time is on our side," 179.****Tooke, Horne, 13.****Trevelyan, Mr., 221, 224.****UNIVERSITIES, 211, 212.****VILLIERS, Mr. C. P., 174.****Vote by proxy, 86.**

- 
- WAVERRERS**, 99, 102.  
**Wemyss, Earl**, 237.  
**Wellington, Duke of** :—  
     — **Prime Minister**, 32.  
     — **Mr. Brougham on**, 41.  
     — **his speech on Reform**, 40-45,  
     — **his resignation of office**, 45.  
     — **opposes the second Reform**  
         **Bill**, 82.  
     — **his windows at Apsley**  
         **House**, 89.  
     — **opposes the third Reform**  
         **Bill**, 98.  
     — **attempts to form an Admin-**  
         **istration and fails**, 10.
- Wellington, Duke of** (*contd.*) :—  
     — **his last words on Reform**,  
         112.  
**Wetherell, Sir C.**, 64, 65, 76, 77,  
     90, 118.  
     — **"What will the Lords do?"** 79,  
         96.  
**Wilberforce, Mr.**, 119.  
**Wilkes, John**, 12.  
**William IV.**, 29-31, 40, 72, 73,  
     96, 107, 111, 113.  
**Window duty**, 129.  
**Wiseman, Cardinal**, 211.  
**Woodall, Mr.**, 234.

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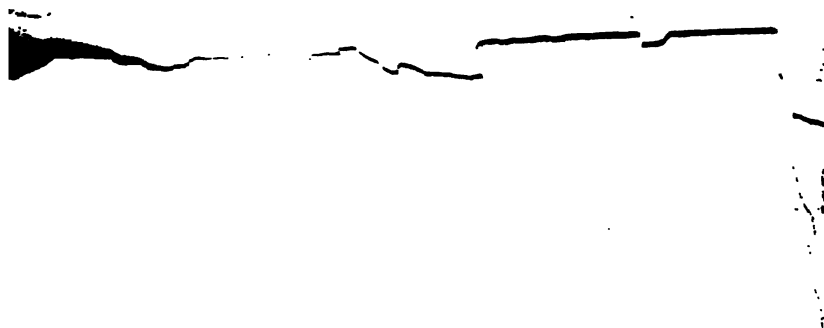
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